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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

By ADAM FERGUSON, LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. III.

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C O N T E N T S.

B O O K III.

C H A P. I.

STATE of the Commonwealth and Numbers of the People. — Characters of Persons who began to appear in the Times of Sylla. — Faction of Lepidus. — Sertorius harbours the Marian Party in Spain. — Is attacked by Metellus and Pompey. — His Death, and final Suppression of the Party. — First Appearance of C. Julius Caesar. — Tribunes begin to trespass on the Laws of Sylla. — Progress of the Empire. — Preparations of Mithridates. — War with the Romans. — Irruption into Bithynia. — Siege of Cyzicus. — Raised. — Flight of Mithridates. — Lucullus carries the War into Pontus. — Rout and Dispersion of the Army of Mithridates. — His Flight into Armenia. — Conduct of Lucullus in the Province of Asia.

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THE public was so much occupied with the contest of Sylla and his antagonists, that little else is

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B O O K recorded of the period in which it took place.

III. Writers have not given us any distinct account of the condition of the city, or of the number of citizens. As the State was divided into the two principal factions, the office of Cenfor was become too important for either party to intrust it with their opponents, or even in neutral hands. The leaders of every faction, in their turn, made up the rolls of the People, and disposed, at their pleasure, of the equestrian and senatorian dignities.

At a survey of the city, which is mentioned by Livy¹, preceding the admission of the Italians on the rolls of the People, the number of citizens was three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and sixty-six. At another survey, which followed soon after that event, they amounted, according to Eusebius, to four hundred and sixty-three thousand²; and it seems that the whole accession of citizens from the country made no more than sixty-eight thousand six hundred and sixty-four. The great slaughter of Romans and Italians, in which it is said that three hundred thousand men were killed, preceding the last of these musters, and the difficulty of making complete and accurate lists when the citizens were so much dispersed, will account for the seemingly small increase of their numbers.

¹ Liv. lib. lxiii.

² Euseb. in Chronico.

In this period were born, and began to enter on the scene of public affairs, those persons whose conduct was now to determine the fate of the republic. Pompey had already distinguished himself, and was a person of real consequence. He had been educated in the camp of his father, and, by accident, at a very early age; and, before he had attained to any of the ordinary civil or political preferments, commanded an army. Cicero, being of the same age, began to be distinguished at the bar. He pleaded, in the second consulship of Sylla, the cause of Roscius Amerinus, in which he was led to censure the actions of Chrysogonus and other favorites of the Dictator, and, by his freedom in that instance, gained much honor to himself.

Cæsar, now connected with the family of Cinna, whose daughter he had married, and being nearly related to the elder Marius, who had married his aunt, narrowly escaped the sword of the prevailing party. Being commanded to separate from his wife, he retained her in defiance of this order, and for his contumacy was put in the list of the proscribed. He was saved, however, by the intercession of some common friends, whose request in his favor Sylla granted, with that memorable saying, "Beware of him: there is many a Marius in the person of that young man." A circumstance which marked at once the penetration of Sylla and the early appearances of an extraordinary character in Cæsar.

Marcus Porcius, afterwards named Cato of

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Utica, was about three years younger than Cæsar, and being early an orphan, was educated in the house of an uncle, Livius Drusus. While yet a child, listening to the conversation of the times, he learned that the claim of the Italian allies, then in agitation, was dangerous to the Roman commonwealth. Pompedius Silo, who managed the claim for the Italians, amusing himself with the young Cato, pressed him with caresses to intercede with his uncle in their behalf; and, finding that he was not to be won by flattery, likewise tried in vain to intimidate him, by threatening to throw him from the window. "If this were a man," he said, "I believe we should obtain no such favor." In the height of Sylla's military executions, when his portico was crowded with persons who brought the heads of the proscribed to be exchanged for the reward that was offered for them, Cato being carried by his tutor to pay his court, asked, "if no one hated this man enough to kill him?" "Yes, but they fear him still more than they hate him." "Then give me a sword," said the boy, "and I will kill him." Such were the early indications of the characters which afterwards became so conspicuous in the commonwealth.

With the unprecedented degradation of the Tribune Octavius, and the subsequent murder of Tiberius Gracchus, began, among the parties at Rome, a scene of injuries and retaliations, with intervals of anarchy and violent usurpation, which must have speedily ended in the ruin of the

commonwealth, if the sword had not passed at last into hands that employed it for the restoration of public order, as well as for the avenging of private wrongs. C H A P.
I.

It is indeed probable, that none of the parties in these horrid scenes had a deliberate intention to subvert the government, but all of them treated the forms of the commonwealth with too little respect; and, to obtain some revenge of the wrongs which they themselves apprehended or endured, did not scruple in their turn to violate the laws of their country. But to those who wished to preserve the commonwealth, the experience of fifty years was now sufficient to show, that attempts to restore the laws by illegal methods, and to terminate animosities by retorted injuries and provocations were extremely vain. The excess of the evil had a tendency to exhaust its source, and parties began to nauseate the draught of which they had been made so plentifully to drink. There were, nevertheless, some dregs in the bottom of the cup, and the supplies of faction which were brought by the rising generation, were of a mixture more dangerous than those of the former age. The example of Sylla, who made himself lord of the commonwealth by the means of a military force, and the security with which he held his usurpation during pleasure, had a more powerful effect in exciting the thirst of dominion, than the political uses which he made of his power or his magnanimity in resigning it, had to restrain or

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BOOK to correct the effects of that dangerous precedent.
III. Adventurers accordingly arose, who, without provocation, and equally indifferent to the interests of party as they were to those of the republic, proceeded, with a cool and deliberate purpose, to gratify their own ambition and avarice, in the subversion of the government of their country.

U. C. 675. While Sylla was yet alive, Æmilius Lepidus, a man of a profligate ambition, but of mean capacity, supported by the remains of the popular faction, stood for the Consulate, and was chosen, together with Q. Lutatius Catulus the son of him who with Marius, triumphed for their joint victory over the Cimbri, and who afterwards perished by the orders of that usurper.

Pompey had openly declared for Lepidus, and was told upon that occasion by Sylla, that he was stirring the embers of a fire which would in the end consume the republic. After the death of Sylla it appeared, from a mark of disapprobation well known to the Romans, that of not being mentioned in his will, that Pompey had lost his esteem. This prudent young man, however, in opposition to Lepidus and others, who wished to insult the memory of Sylla, was among the first in recommending and performing the honors that were paid to his remains.

Lepidus, upon his accession to the Consulate, moved for a recal of the proscribed

exiles, a restitution of the forfeited lands, and a repeal of all the ordinances of the late Dictator. This motion was formally opposed by Catulus; and there ensued between the two Consuls a debate which divided the city. But the party of the Senate prevailed to have the motion rejected.

In the allotment of provinces the Transalpine Gaul had fallen to Lepidus; and, upon his motion being rejected in the assembly of the People, although it had been some time the practice for Consuls to remain at Rome during their continuance in office, he prepared to leave the city, in order to take possession of his province. This resolution as it implied great impatience to be at the head of an army, gave some jealousy to the Senate, who dreaded the designs of a Consul desirous to join military power with his civil authority. They recollected the progress of sedition which began with the Gracchi and Apuleius raising popular tumults, and ended with Marius and Sylla leading Consular armies in the city, and fighting their battles in the streets. And in this point the decisive spirit of Sylla, although it may have snatched the commonwealth from the flames by which it began to be consumed, yet showed the way to its ruin in the means which he employed to preserve it³. The Senators were willing that Lepidus should depart from the city; but they had the precaution to exact from him an oath, that he should not disturb the

³ Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. i.

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public peace. This oath, to avoid the appearance of any particular distrust in him, they likewise exacted from his colleague^{*}.

Lepidus, notwithstanding his oath, being arrived in his province, made preparations for war; and thinking that his oath was binding only while he remained in office, determined to remain in Gaul at the head of his forces until the term expired. The Senate, in order to remove him from the army, appointed him to preside at the election of his successor. But he neglected the summons which was sent to him for this purpose, and the year of the present Consuls was by this means suffered to elapse, before any election was made.

The ordinary succession being thus interrupted, the Senate named Appius Claudius, as Interrex, to hold the elections, and at the same time deprived Lepidus of his command in Gaul. Upon this information he hastened to Italy with the troops he had already assembled, and greatly alarmed the republic. The Senate gave to Appius Claudius, and to Catulus, in the quality of Proconsul, the usual charge to watch over the safety of the State. These officers accordingly, without delay, collected a military force, while Lepidus advanced through Etruria, and published a manifesto, in which he invited all the friends of liberty to join him, and make a formal demand of being re-invested with the consular

^{*} Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. i.

power. In opposition to this treasonable act of Lepidus, the Senate republished the law of Plautius, by which the Prætors were required, in the ordinary course of justice, to take cognizance of all attempts to levy war against the State, and joined to it an additional clause or resolution of their own, obliging those magistrates to receive accusations of treason on holy-days, as well as on ordinary days of business. C H A P.
I.

Mean time Lepidus advanced to the gates of Rome, seized the Janiculum and one of the bridges that led to the city. He was met by Catulus in the Campus Martius, repulsed and routed. All his party dispersed; he himself fled to Sardinia, and soon after died. His son, a young man, with part of the army, retired to Alba, and was there soon after taken, and suffered for a treason in which he was engaged by his father.

Marcus Brutus, the father of him who, in the continuation of these troubles, afterwards fell at Philippi, having joined with Lepidus in this rash and profligate attempt against the republic, was obliged at Mantua to surrender himself to Pompey, and, by his orders, was put to death. But the most considerable part of the army of Lepidus penetrated, under the conduct of Perperna, into Spain, and joined Sertorius, who was now become the refuge of one party in its distress, as Sylla had formerly been of the other. In this province accordingly, while peace began to be restored in Italy, a source of new troubles was

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opening for the State. The prevailing party in the city was willing to grant an indemnity, and to suffer all prosecutions, on account of the late offences, to drop; the extreme to which Sylla had carried the severity of his executions, disposing the minds of men to the opposite course of indulgence and mercy.

Before the arrival of Lepidus with his army in Italy, Mithridates had sent to obtain from the Senate a ratification of the treaty he had concluded with Sylla: but upon a complaint from Ariobarzanes, that the king of Pontus had not himself performed his part of that treaty by the complete restitution of Cappadocia, he was directed to give full satisfaction on this point before his negociation at Rome could proceed. He accordingly complied; but by the time his ambassador brought the report, the Romans were so much occupied by the war they had to maintain against Lepidus and his adherents, that they had no leisure for foreign affairs. This intelligence encouraged Mithridates to think of renewing the war. Sensible that he could not rely on a permanent peace with the Roman republic, he had already provided an army, not so considerable in respect to numbers as that which he formerly had, but more formidable by the order and discipline he had endeavoured to introduce on the model of the legion. He flattered himself that the distraction under which the Romans now labored at Rome, would render them unable to resist his forces in Asia, and give him an oppor-

tunity to remove the only obstruction that remained to his own conquests. He avoided, in the time of a negociation, and without the pretext of a new provocation, to break out into open hostilities; but he encouraged his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia, to make war on the Roman allies in his neighbourhood, and thereby laid the foundation of a quarrel which he might either adopt or decline at pleasure. This prince accordingly, being then building a city, under the name of Tigranocerta, for which he wanted inhabitants, made an incursion into the kingdom of Cappadocia, carried off from thence three hundred thousand of the People to replenish his new settlement.

Soon after this infraction of the peace, Mithridates, in order to have the co-operation of some of the parties into which the Roman State was divided, entered into a treaty with Sertorius, and wished, in concert with this general, to execute the project of a march, by a route afterwards practised by the Barbarians who invaded the Roman empire. From the shores of the Euxine it appeared easy to pass over land to the Adriatic, and once more to repeat the operations of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal, by making war on the Romans in their own country.

Sertorius, who had erected the standard of the republic in Spain, gave refuge to the Roman exiles from every quarter, and was now at the head of a formidable power, composed of Italians as well as natives of that country. By his

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birth and abilities he had pretensions to the highest preferments of the State, and had been early distinguished as a soldier, qualified either to plan or to execute. He was attached to Marius in the time of the Cimbric war, and became a party with this leader in his quarrel with Sylla. His animosity to the latter was increased by the mutual opposition of their interests in the pursuit of civil preferments. At the beginning of the civil war Sertorius took an active part, but showed more respect to the constitution of his country, and more mercy to those who were opposed to him, than either of his associates Marius or Cinna. When his party were in possession of the government, he was appointed to command in Spain, and after the ruin of their affairs in Italy, withdrew into that Province. He was received as a Roman governor; but, soon after the other party prevailed in Italy, was attacked on their part by Caius Annus, who came with a proper force to dislodge him. He had established posts on the Pyrenees for the security of his province; but the officer to whom they were intrusted being assassinated, and the stations deserted, the enemy had free access on that side. Not in condition to maintain himself any longer in Spain, he embarked with what forces he had at Carthagenæ, and continued for some years, with a small squadron of Cilician galleys, to subsist by the spoils of Africa and the contiguous coasts. In this state of his fortunes he formed a project to visit the Fortunate Islands, and if a settlement could

be effected there, to bid farewell for ever to the Roman world; to its factions, its divisions, and its troubles. But while he was about to set sail in search of this famous retreat in the ocean, he received an invitation from the unsubdued natives of Lusitania to become their leader. At their head his abilities soon made him conspicuous. He affected to consider the Lusitanians as the Senate and People of Rome, treating the establishment of Sylla in Italy as a mere usurpation. He himself took the ensigns of a Roman officer of State, selected three hundred of his followers, to whom he gave the title of Senate, and in all his transactions with foreign nations, assumed the name and style of the Roman Republic. In treating with Mithridates he refused to cede the province of Asia, or to purchase the alliance of that prince by any concessions injurious to the Roman empire, of which he affected to consider himself and his Senate as the legal head.

While Sertorius was acting this farce, the report of his formidable power, the late accession he had gained by the junction of some of the Marian forces under the command of Perperna, and his supposed preparations to make a descent upon Italy, gave an alarm at Rome. Metellus had been some time employed against him in Spain; but being scarcely able to keep the field, his opposition tended only to augment the reputation of his antagonist. The Consuls lately elected were judged unequal to this war, and the thoughts of all men were turned on Pompey,

U. C. 676.
D. Junius
Brutus,
Mam. Emi-
lius Liv-
anus.

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who, though yet in no public character, nor arrived at the legal age of state-preferments, had the address on this, as on many other occasions, to make himself be pointed at as the only person who could effectually serve the republic. He was accordingly, with the title of Proconsul, joined to Metellus in the conduct of the war in Spain⁵. It no doubt facilitated the career of this young man's pretensions, that few men of distinguished abilities were now in view to sustain the fortunes of the republic. Such men, of whatever party, had always, in their turns, been the first victims of the late violent massacres; and the party of Sylla, which was now the republic, when considered as a nursery of eminent men, had some disadvantage, perhaps in the superiority of its leader, who was himself equal to all its affairs, and taught others to confide and obey, not to act for themselves. Pompey was not of an age to have suffered from this influence. He came into the party in its busiest time, and had been intrusted with separate commands. He had already obtained for himself part of that artificial consideration which, though it cannot be supported without abilities, often exceeds the degree of merit on which it is founded; and this consideration to the end of his life he continued to augment with much attention and many con-

⁵ Claudius, in making this motion, alluding to the insignificance of both Consuls, said, that Pompey should be sent pro Consulibus.

certed intrigues. He had a genius for war, and was now about to improve it in the contest with Sertorius, an excellent master, whose lessons were rough but instructive. CHAP.
I.

Pompey having made the levies destined for this service, passed the Alps by a new route, and was the first Roman general who made his way into Spain through Gaul and the Pyrenees. Soon after his arrival, a legion that covered the foragers of his army was intercepted and cut off by the enemy. Sertorius was engaged in the siege of Laura. Pompey advanced to relieve it. Sertorius, upon his approach, took post upon an eminence. Pompey prepared to attack him, and the besieged had hopes of immediate relief. But Sertorius had made his disposition in such a manner, that Pompey could not advance without exposing his own rear to a party that was placed to attack him. "I will teach this pupil of Sylla," he said, "to look behind him as well as before him;" and Pompey, seeing his danger, chose to withdraw, leaving the town of Laura to fall into the enemy's hands, while he himself continued a spectator of the siege, and of the destruction of the place. After this unsuccessful beginning of the war, he was obliged to retire into Gaul for the winter.

The following year, Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius Curio being Consuls, Pompey still re-

Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius Curio.

⁶ Plutarch, in Pompeio & Sertorio. Appian. Liv. Obsequens. Frontin. Stratag. lib. iii. c. 5.

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mained in his command; and, having repassed the Pyrenees, directed his march to join Metellus. Sertorius lay on the Sucro⁷, and wished to engage him before the junction; and Pompey, on his part, being desirous to reap the glory of a separate victory, an action ensued, in which the wing on which Pompey fought was defeated by Sertorius; but the other wing had the victory over Perperna. As Sertorius was about to renew the action on the following day, he was prevented by the arrival of Metellus. "If the old woman had not interposed," he said, "I should have whipt the boy, and sent him back to his schools at Rome."

This war continued about two years longer with various success, but without any memorable event, until it ended by the death of Sertorius, who, at the instigation of Perperna, was betrayed and assassinated by a few of his attendants. Perperna, having removed Sertorius by this base action, put himself at the head of the army, and endeavoured to keep them united, at least until he should be able to purchase his peace at Rome. He was, however, deserted by numbers of his own people, and at last surprised by Pompey, and slain. He had made offers to disclose the secrets of the party, and to produce the correspondence which many of the principal citizens at Rome held with Sertorius, inviting him to return into Italy, and promising to join him with

⁷ The Xucar, which falls into the Bay of Valentia.

a formidable power. The letters were secured by Pompey, and, without being opened, were burned. So masterly an act of prudence, in a person who was yet considered as a young man, has been deservedly admired. It served to extinguish all the remains of the Marian faction, and reconciled men, otherwise disaffected, to a situation in which they were assured of impunity and concealment.

C H A P.

I.

While Pompey was thus gathering laurels in the field, C. Julius Cæsar, being about seven years younger, that is, twenty-three years of age, was returned from Asia; and, to make some trial of his parts, laid an accusation against Dolabella, late Proconsul of Macedonia, for oppression and extortion in his province. Cotta and Hortensius, appearing for the defendant, procured his acquittal. Cicero says, that he himself was then returned from a journey he had made into Asia, and was present at this trial. The following year Cæsar left Rome, with intention to pass some time under a celebrated master of rhetoric at Rhodes. In his way he was taken by pirates, and detained about forty days, until he found means to procure from Metellus a sum of fifty talents*, which was paid for his ransom. He had frequently told the pirates, while yet in their hands, that he would punish their insolence; and he now told them to expect the performance of his promise. Upon being set on shore, he assembled and armed some

* Near to 10,000 l.

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vessels on the coast, pursued and took his captors. Leaving his prisoners where he landed, he hastened to Junius Silanus, the Proconsul of Bithynia, and applied for an order to have them executed; but being refused by this officer, he made his way back with still greater dispatch, and, before any instructions could arrive to the contrary, had the pirates nailed to the cross. Such lawless banditti had long infested the seas of Asia and of Greece, and furnished at times no inconsiderable employment to the arms of the republic. Servilius Vatia, who afterwards bore the title of Isauricus, had lately been employed against them, and, after clearing the seas, endeavoured likewise to destroy or secure their ports and strong holds on shore. They nevertheless, recovered this blow, and continued to appear at intervals in new swarms, and to the great interruption of commerce by sea, and of all the communications in the empire.

Under the reformatations of Sylla, which, by disarming the tribunitian power, in a great measure shut up the source of former disorders, the republic was now restored to some degree of tranquillity, and resumed its attention to the ordinary objects of peace. The bridge on the Tiber, which had been erected of wood, was taken down and rebuilt with stone; bearing the name of Æmilius, one of the quæstors under whose inspection the fabric had been reared; and as a public work of still greater consequence, it is mentioned, that a treatise on agriculture, the production of Mago, a

Carthaginian, and in the language of Carthage, was, by the express orders of the Senate, now translated into Latin. At the reduction of Carthage, the Romans were yet governed by husbandmen, and, amidst the literary spoils of that city, this book alone, consisting of twenty-eight rolls or volumes, was supposed to merit public attention, and was secured for the State. A number of persons skilled in the Punic language, together with Silanus, who had the principal charge of the work, were employed in translating it*.

The calm, however, which the republic enjoyed under the ascendant of the aristocracy, was not altogether undisturbed. In the Consulate of Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius Curio, the Tribune Licinius made an attempt to recover the former powers of the office. He ventured, in presence of both the Consuls, to harangue the People, and exhorted them to reassume their ancient rights. As a circumstance which serves to mark the petulant boldness of these men, it is mentioned that the Consul Octavius, on this occasion, being ill, was muffled up, and covered with a dressing which brought flies in great numbers about him. His colleague Curio, having made a vehement speech, at the close of it, the Tribune called out to Octavius, "You never can repay your
"colleague's service of this day; if he had not
"been near you, while he made this speech,
"and beat the air so much with his gesticulations,

* Plin. lib. xviii. c. 3.

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"the flies must by this time have eaten you up". The sequel is imperfectly known; but the dispute appears to have been carried to a great height, and to have ended in a tumult, in which the Tribune Licinius was killed.

Upon a review of Sylla's acts intended to restore the authority of the Senate, it may be questioned, whether that clause in the law relating to the Tribunes, by which all persons having accepted of this office were excluded from any further preferment in the State, may not have had an ill effect, and required correction. It rendered the Tribunate an object only to the meanest of the Senators, who, upon their acceptance of it, ceasing to have any pretensions to the higher offices of State, were, by this means, deprived of any interest in the government, and exasperated against the higher dignities of the commonwealth.

U. C. 678.
L. Octavius,
C. Aurelius
Cotta.

Aurelius Cotta, one of the Consuls that succeeded Cn. Octavius and Curio, moved perhaps by this consideration, proposed to have that clause repealed, and was warmly supported by the Tribune Opimius, who, contrary to the prohibition lately enacted, ventured to harangue the People; and for this offence, at the expiration of his office, was tried and condemned¹¹.

By the defects which the people began to apprehend in their present institutions, or by the

¹⁰ Cicero de Claris Oratoribus.

¹¹ Ibid, 3tia, in Verrem, & Pædianus, ibid.

part which their demagogues began to take against the aristocracy, the Roman State, after a very short respite, began to relapse into its former troubles, and was again to exhibit the curious spectacle of a nation divided against itself, broken and distracted in its councils, which nevertheless prevailed in all its operations abroad, and gained continual accessions of empire, under the effect of convulsions which shook the commonwealth itself to its base; and, what is still less to be paralleled in the history of mankind, was to exhibit the spectacle of a nation, who proceeded in its affairs abroad with a success that may be imputed in a great measure to its divisions at home.

C H A P.

I.

War, in the detail of its operations, if not even in the formation of its plans, is more likely to succeed under single men than under numerous councils. The Roman Constitution, though far from an arrangement proper to preserve domestic peace and tranquillity, was an excellent nursery of statesmen and warriors. To persons brought up in this school, all foreign affairs were committed with little responsibility and less control. The ruling passion, even of the least virtuous citizens, during some ages, was the ambition of being considerable, and of rising to the highest dignities of the State at home. They enjoyed the condition of monarchs in the provinces; but they valued this condition only as it furnished them with the occasion of triumphs, and contributed to their importance at Rome. They were factious

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B O O K and turbulent in their competition for power and
III. honors in the capital; but, in order the better
to support that very contest, were faithful and
inflexible in maintaining all the pretensions of the
State abroad. Thus Sylla, though deprived of
his command by an act of the opposite party at
Rome, and with many of his friends, who escaped
from the bloody hands of their persecutors, con-
demned and outlawed, still maintained the part
of a Roman officer of state, and prescribed to
Mithridates, as might have been expected from
him in the most undisturbed exercise of his trust.
Sertorius, in the same manner, acting for the
opposite faction, in some measure preserved a
similar dignity of character, and refused to make
concessions unworthy of the Roman republic. Con-
trary to the fate of other nations, where the
state is weak, while the conduct of individuals is
regular; here the state was in vigor, while the
conduct of individuals was in the highest degree
irregular and wild.

The reputation, as well as the arms of the
Romans, procured them accession of territory
without expense. Kingdoms were bequeathed to
them by will; as that of Pergamus formerly by
the will of Attalus; that of Cyrene by the will
of Ptolomy Appion; and that of Bithynia, about
this time, by the will of Nicomedes. To the same
effect, princes and states, where they did not
make any formal cession of their sovereignty, did
somewhat equivalent, by submitting their rights
to discussion at Rome, and by soliciting grants

from the Romans, of which the world now seemed to acknowledge the validity, by having recourse to them as the basis of tenures by which they held their possessions. In this manner, the sons of the last Antiochus, king of Syria, stated themselves as subjects or dependants of the Roman People, having passed two years at Rome, waiting decisions of the Senate, and soliciting a grant of the kingdom of Egypt, on which they formed some pretensions.

In Asia, by these means, the Roman empire advanced on the ruin of those who had formerly opposed its progress. The Macedonian line, in the monarchy of Syria, was now broke off, or extinct. The kingdom itself, consisting of many provinces, began to be dismembered, on the defeat of Antiochus at Sipylus, by the defection of provincial governors and tributary princes, who, no longer awed by the power of their former master, entered into a correspondence with the Romans, and were by them acknowledged as sovereigns. In this manner the states of Armenia, long subject to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians, now became the seat of a new monarchy under Tigranes. And, to complete this revolution, the natives of Syria, weary of the degeneracy and weakness of their own court, of the irregularity of the succession to the throne of their own kingdom; weary of the frequent competitions which involved them in blood, invited Tigranes to wield a sceptre which the descendants of Seleucus were no longer in condition to hold. This prince,

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III.

accordingly, extended his kingdom to both sides of the Euphrates, and held Syria itself as one of its divisions¹².

In these circumstances, the Romans were left undisturbed to re-establish their province in the Lesser Asia: and under the auspices of Servilius, who, from his principal acquisition in those parts, had the name of Isauricus, were extending their limits on the side of Cilicia, and were hastening to the sovereignty of that coast, when their progress was suddenly checked by the re-appearance of an enemy, who had already given them much trouble in that quarter.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, who appears to have revived in his own breast the animosities of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal against the Romans, had never ceased, since the date of his last mortifying treaty with Sylla, to devise the means of renewing the war. Having attempted in vain to engage Sylla in a league with himself against the Romans, he made a similar attempt on Sertorius in Spain. Affecting to consider this fugitive, with his little Senate, as heads of the republic, he pressed for a cession of the Roman province in Asia in his own favor, and in return offered to assist the followers of Sertorius with all his forces in the recovery of Italy. In this negotiation, however, he found, as has already been remarked, that whoever assumed the character of a Roman officer of state, supported it with a like inflexible dignity. Sertorius refused to dismember

¹² Strabo, lib. xi. fine.

the empire, but accepted of the proffered aid from Mithridates, and agreed to send him Roman officers to assist in the formation and discipline of his army.

The king of Pontus, now bent on correcting the error which is common in extensive and barbarous monarchies, of relying entirely on numbers, instead of discipline and military skill, proposed to form a more regular army than that which he had assembled in the former war; and, however little successful in his endeavours, meant to rival his enemy in every particular of their discipline, in the use of their weapons, and in the form of their legion. With troops beginning to make these reformatations, and amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse, he declared war on the Romans, and, without resistance, took possession of Cappadocia and Phrygia, beyond the bounds they had set to his kingdom. As he was to act both by sea and by land, he began with customary oblations to Neptune and to Mars. To the first he made an offering of a splendid carriage, drawn by white horses, which he precipitated and sunk in the sea; to the other he made a sacrifice, which, as described by the historian¹¹, filled the imagination more than any of the rites usually practised by ancient nations. The king, with his army, ascended the highest mountain on their route, formed on its summit a great pile of wood,

¹¹ Appian.

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B O O K of which he himself laid the first materials, and
III. ordered the fabric to be raised in a pyramidical form to a great height. The top was loaded with offerings of honey, milk, oil, wine, and perfumes. As soon as it was finished, the army around it began the solemnity with a feast, at the end of which the pile was set on fire, and in proportion as the heat increased, they extended their circle, and came down from the mountain. The flames continued to ascend for many days, and were seen, it is said, at the distance of a thousand stadia, or above a hundred miles ¹⁴.

After this solemnity was over, Mithridates endeavoured to animate and to unite in a common zeal for his cause, the different nations that were collected from remote parts of the empire, to form his army. For this purpose he enumerated the successes by which he had raised his kingdom to its present pitch of greatness, and represented the numerous vices of the enemy with whom he was now to engage, their divisions at home and their oppression abroad, their avarice, and insatiable lust of dominion.

The Romans were sometime undetermined whom they should employ against this formidable enemy. Pompey, being still in Spain, saw with regret this service likely to fall to the share of another; and he had his partisans at Rome who would have gladly put off the nomination of any general to this command, until he himself

¹⁴ Appian. de Bell. Mithridat.

could arrive with his army to receive it. He accordingly about this time wrote a letter to the Senate, complaining, in petulant terms, of their neglect, and of the straits to which the troops under his command were reduced for want of pay and provisions, and threatening, if not speedily supplied, to march into Italy. The Consul Lucullus, apprehending the consequence of Pompey's presence in Italy, at the head of an army, and wishing not to furnish him with any pretence for leaving his present province, had the army in Spain completely supplied, and, at the same time, took proper measures to support his own pretensions to the command in Asia. From his rank as the Consul in office, he had a natural claim to this station; and from his knowledge of the country and of the war¹⁵ with this very enemy, in which he had already borne some part under Sylla¹⁶, was entitled to plead his qualifications and his merits.

¹⁵ Vide Cicero, in Lucullo, c. 1 & 2.

¹⁶ Plutarch, in Lucull. initio, edit. Lond. 4to. vol. iii. p. 137.

Cicero is often quoted to prove that Lucullus, at this time, was a mere novice in war, and owed the knowledge by which he came to be distinguished, to speculation and study, not to experience. It is observed by lord Bolingbroke, that Cicero had an interest in having it believed, that great officers might be formed in this manner, and it is probable, that he affected to consider the part which was assigned to Lucullus by Sylla, as a mere civil employment. He is mentioned as having charge of the coinage with which Sylla paid his army, and of the fleet with which he transported them into Asia:

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III.

When the provinces came to be distributed, the difficulties which presented themselves in Asia were thought to require the presence of both the Consuls. The kingdom of Bithynia, which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans, was in danger of being invaded before they could obtain a formal possession of this inheritance; at the same time that the enemy, by whom they were threatened, was not likely to limit his operations to the attack of that country. Of the Consuls, Cotta was appointed to seize on the kingdom of Bithynia, and Lucullus to lead the army against Mithridates wherever else he should carry war. Cotta set out immediately for his province. Lucullus, being detained in making the necessary levies, followed some time afterwards; but before his arrival in Asia, the king of Pontus had already invaded Bithynia, defeated the forces of Cotta, and obliged him to take refuge in Chalcedonia. The king of Pontus, being superior both by sea and by land, over-ran the country in the neighbourhood of this place; and, having broke the chain which shut up the mouth of the harbour, he entered and burnt some Roman gallies, which were stationed there. Not thinking it advisable to attack the town of Chalcedonia, he turned his forces against Cyzicus, a port on the Propontis, blocked up the

but it is not to be supposed, that these were the only operations confided by Sylla to a lieutenant of so much ability.

place both by sea and by land; and, being well provided with battering engines, and the other necessities of a siege, he had hopes of being soon able to reduce it by storm. The inhabitants, nevertheless, prepared for their defence, in expectation of being speedily relieved by the Romans.

CHAP.
I.

Such was the state of affairs when Lucullus arrived in Asia; and having joined his new levies to the legions which had served under Fimbria, and the troops already in the province, he assembled an army of about thirty thousand men, with which he advanced to re-establish Cotta in his province, and to relieve the town of Cyzicus. The king of Pontus, being elated by his successes, and by the superiority of his numbers, gave no attention to the motions of Lucullus, suffered him to get possession of the heights in his rear, and to cut off his principal supplies of provisions and forage. Trusting, however, that his magazines would not be exhausted before he should have forced the town of Cyzicus, to surrender, he continued the siege. But his engines not being well served, and the defence being obstinate, his army began to be distressed for want of provisions, and it became necessary to lessen his consumption. For this purpose he secretly moved away part of his cavalry. These were intercepted by the Romans on their march, and cut off or dispersed; and the king, being reduced with the remainder of his army to the greatest distress, embarked on board one of his

BOOK. III. gallies, ordered the army to force their way to Lampfacus, while he himself endeavoured to escape with his fleet. The army being attacked by Lucullus, the greater part of them perished in passing the *Æsopus* and the *Granicus*. The king himself, having put into *Nicomedia*, and from thence continuing his voyage through the *Bosphorus* to the *Euxine*, was overtaken on that sea by a storm, and lost the greatest part of his fleet. His own galley being sunk, he himself narrowly escaped in a barge.

The whole force with which the king of Pontus had invaded *Bithynia*, being thus dispelled like a cloud, Lucullus employed some time in reducing the towns into which any of the troops of *Mithridates* had been received; and having effectually destroyed the remains of the vanquished army, took his route by *Bithynia* and *Galatia* towards Pontus. At his entrance into this kingdom was situated the town of *Amyfus*, a considerable fortress on the coast of the *Euxine*, into which the king had thrown a sufficient force to retard his progress. *Mithridates*, under favor of the time he gained by the defence of this place, assembled a new army at *Cabira*, near the frontier of *Armenia*. Here he mustered about forty thousand foot, and a considerable body of horse, and was soliciting the *Scythians*, *Armenians*, and all the nations of that continent to his aid. Lucullus, in order to prevent, if possible, any further reinforcements to the enemy, committed the siege of *Amyfus* to *Murena*, and advanced with

his army into the plains of Cabira. On this ground the Roman horse received repeated checks from those of the enemy, and were kept in continual alarm until their general, having time to observe the country, avoided the plains on which the king of Pontus, by means of his cavalry, was greatly superior. Though very much straitened for provisions, Lucullus kept his position on the heights, until the enemy should be forced to a general action. The skirmishes which happened between the foraging parties drew considerable numbers from the respective armies to engage; and the troops of Mithridates, having been routed in one of these partial encounters, the king took a resolution to decamp in the night, and remove to a greater distance from the Romans. As soon as it was dark, the equipage and attendants of the leading men in the camp, to whom he had communicated this resolution, began to withdraw; and the army, greatly alarmed with that appearance, was seized with a panic, and could not be restrained from flight. Horse and foot, and bodies of every description crowded in disorder into the avenues of the camp, and were trod under foot, or in great numbers perished by each other's hands. Mithridates himself, endeavouring to stop and to undeceive them, was carried off by the multitude.

The noise of this tumult being heard to a great distance, and the occasion being known in the Roman camp, Lucullus advanced with his army to take advantage of the confusion in which

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BOOK the enemy were fallen, and by a vigorous attack
III. put many to the sword, and hastened their dispersion.

The king was, by one of his servants, with difficulty mounted on horseback, and must have been taken, if the pursuing party had not been amused in seizing some plunder, which he had ordered on purpose to be left in their way. A mule loaded with some part of the royal treasure, turned the attention of his pursuers, while he himself made his escape.

In his flight he appeared to be most affected with the fate of his women. The greatest number of them were left at the palace of Pharnacea, a place that must soon fall into the hands of the enemy. He therefore dispatched a faithful eunuch with orders to put them to death, leaving the choice of the manner to themselves. A few are particularly mentioned. Of two, who were his own sisters, Roxana and Statira, one died uttering execrations against her brother's cruelty, the other extolling in that extremity of his own fortune, the generous care he took of their honor. Monime, a Greek of Miletus, celebrated for her beauty, whom the king had long wooed in vain with proffers of great riches, and whom he won at last only by the participation of his crown, and the earnest of the nuptial rites, had ever lamented her fortune, which, instead of a royal husband and a palace, had given her a prison, and a barbarous keeper. Being now told, that she must die, and that the manner of her death was left
to

to her own choice, she unbound the royal fillet from her hair, and, using it as a bandage endeavoured to strangle herself. It broke in the attempt: "Bauble," she said, "it is not fit even for this!" then stretching out her neck to the eunuch, bid him fulfil his master's purpose. Berenicé of Chios, another Grecian beauty, had likewise been honored with the nuptial crown; and, having been attended in her state of melancholy elevation by her mother, who, on this occasion, likewise resolved to partake of her daughter's fate; they chose to die by poison. The mother entreated that she might have the first draught; and died before her daughter. The remainder of the dose not being sufficient for the queen, she put herself likewise into the hands of the executioner, and was strangled. By these deaths, the barbarous jealousy of the king was gratified, and the future triumph of the Roman general deprived of its principal ornaments.

Lucullus, after his late victory, having no enemy in the field to oppose him, passed through the country, and entered without molestation into many of the towns in the kingdom of Pontus. He found many palaces enriched with treasure, and adorned with barbarous magnificence; and, as might be expected under such a violent and distrustful government, every where places of confinement crowded with prisoners of state, whom the jealousy of the king had secured, and whom his supercilious neglect had suffered to remain in custody, even after his jealousy was allayed.

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B O O K

III.

Mithridates, from his late defeat, fled into Armenia, and claimed the protection of Tigranes, who, being married to his daughter, had already favored him in his designs against the Romans.

This powerful prince, now become sovereign of Syria as well as Armenia, still continued his residence in the last of these kingdoms at Tigranocerta, a city he himself had built, filled with inhabitants, and distinguished by his own name. On the arrival of Mithridates to sue for his protection, Tigranes declined to see him, but ordered him a princely reception in one of the palaces.

Lucullus continued his pursuit of this flying enemy only to the frontier of Armenia, and from thence, sending Publius Clodius, who was his brother-in-law, to the court of Tigranes, with instructions to require that Mithridates should be delivered up as a lawful prey, he himself fell back into the kingdom of Pontus, and soon after reduced Amyfus, together with Sinopé, and other places of strength, which were held by the troops of the king.

The inhabitants of these places had been originally colonies from Greece, and having been subdued by the Persians, were, on the arrival of Alexander the Great, from respect to their origin, restored to their freedom. In imitation of this example, and agreeably to the profession which the Romans ever made of protecting the liberties of Greece, Lucullus once more declared those cities to be free. Having now sufficient leisure to attend to the general state of the Roman provinces in Asia, he found, that the collectors of the revenue, under pretext

of levying the tax imposed by Sylla, had been guilty of the greatest oppressions. That the inhabitants, in order to pay this tax, borrowed money of the Roman officers and merchants at exorbitant interest; and, when the debts became equal to their whole effects, were then distrained for payment, under pain of imprisonment and even tortures: that private persons were reduced to the necessity of exposing their children to sale, and corporations of selling the pictures, images, and other ornaments of their temples, in order to satisfy these inhuman creditors. Willing to restrain, or to correct these abuses, the Proconsul ordered, that where the interest exacted was equal to the capital, the debt should be cancelled; and in other cases, fixed it at a moderate rate. These acts of beneficence or justice to the provinces were, by the farmers of the revenue, represented as acts of oppression and cruelty to themselves, and were, among their connexions, and the sharers of their spoils at Rome, stated against Lucullus as subjects of complaint and reproach.

C H A P.
I.

C H A P. I I.

Escape and Revolt of the Gladiators at Capua. — Spartacus. — Action and defeat of Lentulus the Roman Consul. — And of Cassius the Prætor of Gaul. — Appointment of M. Crassus for this Service. — Destruction of the Gladiators. — Triumph of Metellus and Pompey. — Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. — Tribunes restored to their former powers. — Consulate of Metellus and Hortensius. — War in Crete. — Renewal of the war in Pontus and Armenia. — Defeat of Tigranes. — Negotiation with the King of Parthia. — Mutiny of the Roman army. — Complaints of piracies committed in the Roman Seas. — Commission proposed to Pompey. — His conduct against the Pirates. — His Commission extended to Pontus. — Operations against Mithridates. — Defeat and Flight of that Prince. — Operations of Pompey in Syria. — Siege and Reduction of Jerusalem. — Death of Mithridates.

BOOK
III.
U. C. 680.
M. Teren-
Varro,
C. Cass. Va-
rus.

SOON after the war, of which we have thus stated the event, had commenced in Asia, Italy was thrown into great confusion by the accidental escape of a few gladiators from the place of their confinement at Capua. These were slaves trained up to furnish their masters with a spectacle, which, though cruel and barbarous, drew numerous crowds of beholders. It was at first introduced as a species of human sacrifice at

funerals, and the victims were now kept by the wealthy in great numbers for the entertainment of the People, and even for private amusement. The handsomest, the most active, and the boldest of the slaves and captives were selected for this purpose. They were sworn to decline no combat, and to shun no hardship, to which they were exposed by their masters; they were of different denominations, and accustomed to fight in different ways; but those from whom the whole received their designation, employed the sword and buckler, or target; and they commonly fought naked, that the place and nature of the wounds they received might the more plainly appear.

Even in this prostitution of valor, refinements of honor were introduced. There were certain graces of attitude which the gladiator was not permitted to quit, even to avoid a wound. There was a manner which he studied to preserve in his fall, in his bleeding posture, and even in his death. He was applauded, or hissed, according as he succeeded or failed in any of these particulars. When, after a tedious struggle, he was spent with labor and with the loss of blood, he still endeavoured to preserve the dignity of his character, dropt or resumed the sword at his master's pleasure, and looked round to the spectators for marks of their satisfaction and applause¹.

¹ Cicer. Tusculan. lib. ii. c. 17.

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III.

Persons of every age, condition, and sex, attended at these exhibitions; and when the pair who were engaged began to strain and to bleed, the spectators, being divided in their inclinations, endeavoured to excite by their cries and acclamations, the party they favored; and when the contest was ended, called to the victor to strike, or to spare according as the vanquished was supposed to have forfeited or to have deserved his life². With these exhibitions, which must create so much disgust and horror in the recital, the Romans were more intoxicated than any populace in modern Europe now are with the baiting of bulls, or the running of horses, probably because they were more deeply affected, and more violently moved.

Spartacus, a Thracian captive, who on account of his strength and activity, had been destined for this barbarous profession, with about seventy or eighty of his companions, escaped from their place of confinement, and arming themselves with such weapons as accident presented to them, retired to some fastness on the ascent of Mount Vesuvius, and from thence harassed the country with robberies and murders. "If we are to fight," said the leader of this desperate band, "let us fight against our oppressors, and in behalf of our own liberties, not to make sport for this petulant and cruel race of men." Multitudes of slaves from every

² Cicero, pro Sextio, c. 27. Tuscul. Quæst. Florus, lib. iii, c. 17.

quarter flocked to his standard. The Præfect of Capua armed the inhabitants of his district against them, but was defeated. C H A P.
II.

This feeble and unsuccessful attempt to quell the insurrection, furnished the rebels with arms, and raised their reputation and their courage. Their leader, by his generosity in rejecting his own share of any booty he made, by his conduct and his valor, acquired the authority of a legal commander; and, having named Crixus and Oenomaus, two other gladiators, for his subordinate officers, he formed the multitudes that resorted to him into regular bodies, employed a certain number to fabricate arms, and to procure the necessary accommodations of a camp, till at length he collected an army of seventy thousand men, with which he commanded the country to a great extent. He had already successively defeated the Prætors Clodius, Varinus, and Coffinius, who had been sent against him with considerable forces, so that it became necessary to order proper levies, and to give to the Consuls the charge of repressing this formidable enemy.

Spartacus had too much prudence to think himself fit to contend with the forces of the Roman State, which he perceived must soon be assembled against him. He contented himself, therefore, with a more rational scheme of conducting his army by the ridge of the Appenines, till he should gain the Alps from whence his followers, whether Gauls, Germans, or Thracians,

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BOOK might separate, each into the country of which
 III. he was a native, or from which he had been originally brought.

U. C. 681.

L. Gell.
 Poplicola.
 Cn. Corn.
 Lent. Clodius,

While he began his progress by the mountains, in order to execute this project, the Consuls, Gellius and Lentulus, had already taken the field against him. They at first surprised and cut off a considerable body under Crixus, who had fallen down from the heights in order to pillage the country. But Lentulus afterwards pressing hard upon Spartacus, who led the main body of the rebels, brought on an action, in which the consular army was defeated with considerable loss. Cassius too, the Prætor of Cisalpine Gaul, having advanced upon him with an army of ten thousand men, was repulsed with great slaughter.

In consequence of these advantages, Spartacus might no doubt have effected his retreat to the Alps; but his army being elated with victory, and considering themselves as masters of Italy, were unwilling to abandon their conquest. He himself formed a new project of marching to Rome: and for this purpose destroyed all his useless baggage and cattle, put his captives to death, and refused to receive any more of the slaves, who were still in multitudes resorting to his standard. He probably expected to pass the Roman armies without a battle, and to force the city of Rome itself by an unexpected assault. In this he was disappointed by the Consuls, with whom he was obliged to fight in the Picenum; and though victorious in the action, he lost the hopes of

surprising the city. But still thinking himself in condition to keep his ground in Italy, he only altered his route, and directed his march towards Lucania. CHAP. II.

The Romans, greatly embarrassed, and thrown into some degree of consternation, by the unexpected continuance of an insurrection which had given them much trouble, exposed their armies to much danger, with little prospect of honor; not being courted, as usual, for the command, they imposed it on Marcus Crassus, then in the rank of Prætor, and supposed to be a person of consequence, more on account of his wealth than of his abilities; though in this service, after others had failed, he laid the foundation of a more favorable judgment. They at the same time sent orders to Pompey, who had finished the war in Spain, to hasten into Italy with his army; and to the Proconsul of Macedonia, to embark with what forces could be spared from his province.

Crassus assembled no less than six legions, with which he joined the army which had been already so unsuccessful against the revolt. Of the troops who had misbehaved he is said to have executed, perhaps only decimated, four thousand, as an example to the new levies, and as a warning of the severities they were to expect for any failure in the remaining part of the service.

Upon his arrival in Lucania he cut off ten thousand of the rebels who were stationed at a distance from the main body of their army, and

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III.

he endeavoured to shut up Spartacus in the peninsula of Brutium, or head of land which extends to the Straits of Messina. The gladiators desired to pass into Sicily, where their fellow-sufferers, the slaves of that island, were not yet entirely subdued, and where great numbers at all times were prepared to revolt; but they were prevented by the want of shipping. Crassus at the same time undertook a work of great labor, that of intrenching the land from sea to sea with a ditch fifteen feet wide, and as many deep, extending, according to Plutarch, three hundred stadia, or above thirty miles. Spartacus endeavoured to interrupt the execution of this undertaking; but being repulsed in every attack, his followers began to despond, and entertained thoughts of surrendering themselves. In order to supply by despair what they lost in courage, he put them in mind that they fought not upon equal terms with their enemies; that they must either conquer or be treated as fugitive slaves; and, to enforce his admonitions, he ordered one of his captives to be nailed to the cross in sight of both armies. "This," he said to his own people, "is an example of what you are to suffer if you fall into the enemy's hands."

Whilst Crassus was busy completing his line, Spartacus prepared to force it; and, having provided faggots and other materials for this purpose, filled up the ditch at a convenient place, and passed it in the night with the whole body of his followers. He directed his march to Apu-

lia, but was pursued, and greatly harassed in his flight. CHAP. II.

Accounts being received at once in the camp of Crassus and in that of Spartacus, that fresh troops were landed at Brundisium from Macedonia, and that Pompey was arrived in Italy, and on his march to join Crassus, both armies were equally disposed to hazard a battle; the gladiators, that they might not be attacked at once by so many enemies as were collecting against them; and the Romans under Crassus, that Pompey might not snatch out of their hands the glory of terminating the war. Under the influence of these different motives, both leaders drew forth their armies; and when they were ready to engage, Spartacus, with the valor rather of a gladiator than of a general, alighting from his horse, and saying aloud, in the hearing of his followers, "If I conquer to-day, I shall be better mounted; if not, I shall not have occasion for a horse," he plunged his sword into the body of the animal. With this earnest of a resolution to conquer or to die, he advanced towards the enemy; directing the division in which he himself commanded to make their attack where he understood the Roman general was posted. He intended to decide the action by forcing the Romans in that quarter; but after much bloodshed, being mangled with wounds, and still almost alone in the midst of his enemies, he continued to fight till he was killed; and the victory of course declared for his enemy. About a thou-

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BOOK III. sand of the Romans were slain; of the vanquished the greatest slaughter, as usual in ancient battles, took place after the flight began. The dead were not numbered; about six thousand were taken, and in the manner of executing the sentence of death on slaves, they were nailed to the crosses in rows, that lined the way from Capua to Rome. Such as escaped from the field of battle, being about five thousand, fell into the hands of Pompey, and furnished a pretence to his flatterers for ascribing to him the honor of terminating the war.

The mean quality of the enemy, however, in the present case, precluded Crassus from the honor of a triumph; he could have only an ovation or military procession on foot. But instead of the myrtle-wreath, usual on such occasions, he had credit enough with the Senate to obtain the laurel-crown³.

Pompey too arrived at the same time with new and uncommon pretensions, requiring a dispensation from the law and established forms of the commonwealth. The war he had conducted in Spain being of the nature of a civil war against Roman citizens or subjects, with a Roman general at their head, did not give a regular claim to a triumph; Pompey himself was yet under the legal age, and had not passed through any of the previous steps of Quæstor, Ædile and Prætor; yet on the present occasion

³ A. Gellius, lib. v.

he not only insisted on a triumph, but put in his claim likewise to an immediate nomination to the office of Consul. CHAP.
II.

It now became extremely evident, that the established honors of the State, conferred in the usual way, were not adequate to the pretensions of this young man: that he must have new and singular appointments, or those already known bestowed on him in some new and singular manner. His enemies observed, that he avoided every occasion of fair competition; that he took a rank of importance which he did not submit to have examined; and that he ever aspired to stand alone, or in the first place of public consideration and dignity. His partisans, on the contrary, stated the extraordinary honors which had been done to him, as the foundation of still farther distinctions*. In enumerating his services upon his return from Spain, they reckoned up, according to Pliny, eight hundred and seventy-one towns, from the Pyrenees to the extremities of that country, which he had reduced; observed that he had surpassed the glory of all the officers who had gone before him in that service; and, in consequence of these representations, though still in a private station, he was admitted to a triumph, or partook with Metellus in this honor.

Pompey had hitherto, in all the late disputes, taken part with the aristocracy; but not without

* Vid. Cicer. pro Lege Manilia.

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U. C. 683.
M. Licin.
Crassus, Cn.
Pomp.
Magnus.

suspicion of aiming too high for republican government of any sort. While he supported the Senate, he affected a degree of pre-eminence above those who composed it, and was not content with equality, even among the first Nobles of his country. He acquiesced, nevertheless, in the mere show of importance, without assuming a power which might have engaged him in contests, and exposed his pretensions to too near an inspection. Upon his approach at the head of an army from Spain, the Senate was greatly alarmed; but he gave the most unfeigned assurances of his intention to disband his army as soon as they should have attended his triumph. The Senate accordingly gave way to this irregular pretension, and afterwards to the pretension, still more dangerous, which, without any of the previous conditions which the law required, he made to the Consulate. Crassus, who had been Prætor in the preceding year, now stood for the same office, entered into a concert with Pompey, and, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy of each other, they joined their interests, and were elected together.

Under the administration of these officers some important laws are said to have passed, although most of the particulars have escaped the notice of historians. It appears that Pompey now began to pay his court to the People; and, though he professed to support the authority of the Senate, wished to have it in his power, on occasion, to take the sense of what was called the assembly

of the people against them, or, in other words, to counteract them by means of the popular tumults which bore this name. C H A P.
II.

The Tribunes, Quinctius and Palicanus, had for two years successively labored to remove the bars which had, by the constitution of Sylla, been opposed to the tribunitian power. They had been strenuously resisted by Lucullus and others, who held the office of Consul, during the dependance of the questions which had arisen on the subject. By the favor of Pompey and Crassus, however, the Tribunes obtained a restitution of the privileges which their predecessors, in former times of the republic, had so often abused; and, together with the security of their sacred and inviolable character, and their negative in all proceedings of the State, they were again permitted to propose laws, and to harangue the people; a dangerous measure, by which Pompey at once rendered fruitless that reformation which was the only apology for the blood so lavishly shed, not only by Sylla, but likewise by himself. Caius Julius Cæsar, at the same time, having the rank of Legionary Tribune conferred upon him by the choice of the People, was extremely active in procuring those popular acts; a policy in which he was more consistent with himself than Pompey, and only pursued the course of the party with which he embarked in his youth^s.

^s Suetonius, in C. Jul. Cæsar. lib. i.

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III.

Lex Aurelia
Judiciaria.

Under this Consulate, and probably with the encouragement of Pompey, the law of Sylla, respecting the judicatures, was, upon the motion of the Prætor, Aurelius Cotta, likewise repealed; and it was permitted to the Prætors to draught the judges in equal numbers from the Senate, the knights, and a certain class of the People*, whose description is not clearly ascertained. This was, perhaps, a just correction of Sylla's partiality to the Nobles; and, if it had not been accompanied by the former act, which restored the tribunitian power, might have merited applause.

In the meantime, corruption advanced among all orders of men with a hasty pace; in the lower ranks, contempt of government; among the higher, covetousness and prodigality, with an ardor for lucrative provinces, and the opportunities of extortion and flagrant abuse. As the offices of State at Rome began to be coveted with a view to the appointments abroad, with which they were followed, Pompey, in order to display his own disinterestedness, with an oblique reproof to the Nobility who aspired to magistracy with such mercenary views, took a formal oath in entering on his Consulate, that he would not, at the expiration of his office, accept of any government in the provinces; and by this example of generosity in himself, and by the censure it implied of others, obtained great credit

* Tribuni Aerarii.

with

with the People, and furnished his emissaries, who were ever busy in founding his praise, with a pretence for enhancing his merit. It may, however, from his character and policy in other instances, be suspected, that he remained at Rome with intention to watch opportunities of raising his own consideration, and of obtaining, by the strength of his party, any extraordinary trust or commission of which the occasion should arise.

Pompey, in the administration of his Consulate, had procured the revival of the Censors functions. These had been intermitted about sixteen years, during great part of which time the republic had been in a state of civil war; and the prevailing parties, in their turns, mutually had recourse to acts of banishment, confiscations, and military executions against each other. In such times, even after the sword was sheathed, the power of Censor, in the first heat of party-resentment, could not be safely intrusted with any of the citizens; and the attempts which were now made to revive it, though in appearance successful, could not give it a permanent footing in the commonwealth. The public was arrived at a state in which men complain of evils, but cannot endure their remedies.

L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, being intrusted, in the capacity of Censors, to make up the rolls of the people, mustered four hundred and fifty thousand citizens. They purged the Senate with great severity, having expunged sixty-four from the rolls, and among those C.

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BOOK Antonius, afterwards Consul, assigning as their
III. reason, that he, having the command on the coasts of Asia and Greece, had pillaged the allies, and mortgaged and squandered his own estate. But what most distinguished this Censorship was an incident, for the sake of which, it is likely, the solemnity of the Census had been now revived.

It was customary on those occasions for the Knights to pass in review, each leading his horse before the Censors. They were questioned respecting their age, their services, and the persons under whose command they had served; and if they had already served the ten years prescribed by law, they received an exemption from future services, and were vested with the privileges which were annexed to this circumstance. At this part of the ceremony the People were surprised to see their Consul, Pompey the Great, descending into the market-place, leading his horse in quality of a simple knight, but dressed in his consular robes, and preceded by the lictors. Being questioned by the Censor, whether he had served the stated number of years, he answered that he had, and all of them in armies commanded by himself. This farce was received with loud acclamations of the People; and the Censors having granted the customary exemption, rose from their seats, and, followed by a great multitude, attended this equestrian Consul to his own house⁷.

⁷ Plutarch, in Pompeio.

It is observed that Crassus and Pompey, although they entered on office in concert, yet differed in the course of their administration on subjects which are not particularly mentioned. As Crassus was in possession of great wealth, he endeavoured, by his liberalities, to vie with the imposing state and popular arts of his colleague. He gave an entertainment to the whole People at ten thousand tables, and distributed three months provision of corn. To account for his being able to court the People in this manner, it is said, that he inherited from his father a fortune of three hundred talents, or near sixty thousand pounds; that he increased it, by purchasing at a low price the estates of those who were proscribed in the late troubles, and by letting for hire the labor of a numerous family of slaves, instructed in various arts and callings; and was become so rich by these means, that when, some time after this date, he was about to depart for Asia, and consecrated the tenth part of his estate to Hercules, he was found to possess seven thousand one hundred talents, or about one million three hundred and seventy thousand and three hundred pounds sterling*.

Pompey, at the expiration of his year in the Consulship, in observance of the oath he had

* Plutarch, in Crasso. As the interest of money was prohibited at Rome, under the denomination of usury, but in fact was unlimited, the annual returns from such a capital must have been immense.

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B O O K taken, remained at Rome in a private station;
III. but, agreeably to the character he formerly bore, maintained the reserve and stateliness of a person raised above the condition of a citizen, or even above that of the first Senators of consular rank. Other candidates for consideration and public honors, endeavoured by their talents and eloquence, to make themselves necessary to those who had affairs to solicit with the public, or even to make themselves feared. They labored to distinguish themselves as able advocates or formidable accusers at the bar, and to strengthen their interest by procuring the support of those to whom their talents either were or might become of importance. Pompey, on the contrary, stating himself as an exception to common rules, avoided the courts of justice and other places of ordinary resort, did not commit his talents to the public judgment, nor present his person to the public view; took the respect that was paid to him as a right; seldom went abroad, and never without a numerous train of attendants*. He was formed for the state of a prince, and might have stolen into that high station even at Rome, if men born to equality, could have suffered an elevation which was not supported by adequate abilities; or had been willing, when troubled with faction, to forego their own importance, in order to obtain peace and the comforts of a moderate government. The pretensions of Pompey,

* Plutarch, in Vit. Pomp.

however, were extremely disagreeable to the Senate, and not otherwise acceptable to the People, than as they tended to mortify the pride of that order of men.

The Consulship of Crassus and Pompey was succeeded by that of Q. Hortensius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus. In the distribution of provinces, Crete, with the command of an armament to be sent into that island, fell to the lot of Hortensius; but this citizen, having acquired his consideration by his eloquence in pleading the causes of his friends, and being accustomed to the bar, perhaps in a degree that interfered with his military character, declined to accept of this government; leaving it, together with the command of the army that was to be employed in the reduction of the island, to his colleague, Metellus, who afterwards received the appellation of Creticus, from the distinction he acquired in this service.

U. C. 684.
Q. Hortensius, Q. Cæcilius, Metellus Creticus.

U. C. 685.
Q. Hortensius, Q. Cæcilius, Metellus Creticus.

The Cretans, and most of the other seafaring people on the confines of Asia and Europe, had in the late war taken an active part against the Romans. They had by the influence of Mithridates, and by their own disposition to rapine and piracy, been led to prey upon the traders, and upon the carriers of the revenue that were frequently passing from the provinces to Rome. The desire of sharing in the profits that were made by this species of war, had filled the sea with pirates and freebooters, against whom the Romans sent forth a succession of officers, with

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BOOK extensive commands, on the coasts of Asia
III. and Europe. Among others, M. Antonius had
 been employed in this service, and was accused
 of abusing his power, by oppressing the Sicilians
 and the people of other maritime provinces, who
 were innocent of the crimes he was employed to
 repress. In a descent on the island of Crete he
 was defeated and killed¹⁰, and left the Romans
 engaged with the people of that island in a war
 which was thought to require the presence of one
 of the consuls. The lot, as has been observed, fell
 on Hortensius, but was transferred to his col-
 league Metellus.

U. C. 686. Such was the state of affairs, and such the des-
L. Cæc. Me- tination of the Roman officers, when Lucullus
tellus, Q. received from Tigranes a return to the demand
Marc. Rex which he made of having Mithridates delivered
 up as his prisoner. This prince, at the arrival of
 Clodius, who bore the message, had made a pro-
 gress to the coast of Phœnicia, and to the farther
 extremities of his empire. To verify the state and
 title which he assumed of King of Kings, he affect-
 ed, when he mounted on horseback, to have four
 captive sovereigns to walk by his stirrup, and
 obliged them, on other occasions, to perform
 every office of menial duty and servile attendance
 on his person. Lucullus, instead of the style
 which was affected by this prince, had accosted
 him in his letter only with the simple title of
 king. His messenger, however, was admitted

¹⁰ Nædianus, in Orat. in Verrem.

to an audience, and made his demand that Mithridates, a vanquished prince, whose territories were already in the possession of the Romans, should be delivered up to adorn the victor's triumph. This if refused, said the bearer of the message, the Roman general would be entitled to extort by force, and would not fail, with a mighty army for that purpose, to pursue his fugitive wherever he was received and protected. Tigranes, unused even to plain address, much less to insult and threats, heard this demand with real indignation; and though, with an appearance of temper, he made offer of the customary presents and honors to the person who delivered it, he took his resolution against the Romans, and, from having barely permitted Mithridates to take refuge in his kingdom, determined to espouse his cause. He gave for answer to Clodius, that he would not deliver up the unfortunate king, and that, if the Romans invaded his territories, he knew how to defend them. He soon afterwards admitted Mithridates into his presence, and determined to support him with the necessary force against his enemies.

Upon receiving this answer from Tigranes, Lucullus resolved without delay to march into Armenia. He chose for this expedition two legions and a body of horse, on whom he prevailed, though with some difficulty, to enter on a new war at a time when they flattered themselves that their labors were ended, and that the rewards they expected were within their reach.

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With hasty marches he arrived on the Euphrates, and passed that river before the enemy were aware of his approach. Tigranes treated the first reports of his coming with contempt, and ordered the person who presumed to bring such accounts to be punished. But being assured, beyond a possibility of doubt, that an enemy was actually on his territories, he sent Metrodorus, one of his generals, at the head of a considerable force, with orders to take alive the person of Lucullus, whom he was desirous to see, but not to spare a man of the whole army besides.

With these orders, the Armenian general set out on the road by which the Romans were supposed to advance, and hastened to meet them. Both armies, on the march, had intelligence of each other. Lucullus, upon the approach of the enemy, halted, began to intrench, and, in order to gain time, detached Sextilius, with about three thousand men, to observe the Armenians, and if possible, without risking an action, to amuse them till his works were completed. But such was the incapacity and presumption of the enemy, that Sextilius, being attacked by them, gained an entire victory with but a part of the Roman army; Metrodorus himself being killed, his army was put to the rout with great slaughter.

After this victory Lucullus, in order the more effectually to alarm and to distract the Armenians, separated his army into three divisions. With one he intercepted and dispersed a body

of Arabs, who were marching to join the king; with another he surpris'd Trigranes himself, in a disadvantageous situation, and oblig'd him to fly with the loss of his attendants, equipage, and the baggage of his army. At the head of the third division he himself advanced to Tigranocerta, and invest'd that place.

After these disasters Trigranes made an effort to assemble the force of his kingdom; and bringing into the field all the troops of his allies, as well as his own, he mustered an army of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy armed foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and twenty thousand archers and slingers. He was advis'd by Mithridates not to risk a battle, but to lay waste the country from which the Romans were supplied with provisions, oblige them to raise the siege of Tigranocerta, and repass the Euphrates, with the disadvantage of having an enemy still in force to hang on their rear. This counsel of Mithridates, founded in the experience he had so dearly bought, was ill suited to the presumption of the king. He therefore advanced towards the Romans, impatient to relieve his capital, and the principal seat of his magnificence. Lucullus, trusting to the specimens he had already seen of the Armenian forces, ventured to divide his army, and, without raising the siege, march'd with one division to meet this numerous enemy. In the action that follow'd, the Armenian horse being in the van, were defeated and driven back on the foot of their own army, threw them into

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confusion, and gave the Romans an easy victory, in which, with very inconsiderable loss to themselves, they made a great slaughter of the enemy. The king himself, to avoid being known in his flight, unbound the royal diadem from his head, and left it to become a part in the spoils of the day.

Mariæus, who commanded in Tigranocerta, hearing of his master's defeat, and fearing a revolt of the Greeks and other foreigners, who had been forced to settle at that place, ordered them to be searched and disarmed. This order they looked on as the prelude to a massacre, and crowding together, defended themselves with the staves and other weapons they could seize. They surrounded the party that was sent to disperse them, and having by that means got a supply of arms, they took possession of a tower which commanded one of the principal gates, and from thence invited the Romans to enter the place. Lucullus accordingly seized the opportunity, and became master of the city. The spoil was great; Tigranes having collected here, as at the principal seat of his vanity, the wealth and magnificence of his court.

Mithridates, who had been present in the late action, met the king of Armenia in his flight; and having endeavoured to re-establish his equipage and his retinue by a participation of his own, exhorted him not to despair, but to assemble a new force, and to persist in the war. They agreed, at the same time, on an embassy to the

king of Parthia, with offers of reconciliation on the part of Tigranes, who, at the time, was at war with that prince, and of satisfaction on the subjects in contest between them, provided the Parthians would join in the confederacy against the Romans. They endeavoured to persuade the king, that he was by no means an unconcerned spectator in the present contest; that the quarrel which the Romans now had with the kings of Armenia and Pontus, was the same with that which they formerly had with Philip and with Antiochus; and which, if not prevented, they would soon have with Arsaces, and was no other than his being possessed of a rich territory, which tempted their ambition and avarice. Those republicans, they said, originally had not any possessions of their own, and were grown rich and great only by the spoils of their neighbours. From their strong hold in Italy, they had extended their empire on the West to the coast of the ocean; and, if not stopped by the powerful monarchies that lay in their way, were hastening to reach a similar boundary on the East. The king of Parthia, they added might expect to be invaded by these insatiable conquerors, and must now determine whether he would engage in a war joined with such powerful allies, of whom one by his experience, the other by his resources, might enable him to keep the danger at a distance from his own kingdom²¹, or wait

²¹ Letter of Mithridates in the Fragments of Sallust.

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until these powers being overthrown, and become an accession to the Roman force, he should have the contest to maintain in his own territory singly and unsupported from abroad. To these representations Arsaces seemed to give a favorable ear, agreed to the proposed confederacy, on condition that Mesopotamia, which he had formerly claimed, was now delivered up to him. At the same time he endeavoured to amuse Lucullus with offers of alliance against the king of Armenia.

In this conjuncture it probably was, that Lucullus, in the apprehension of being superseded and deprived of the honor of terminating the war, made his report that the kingdom of Mithridates was now in his possession, and that the kingdom of Tigranes was also in his power; and therefore, that the Senate should, instead of a successor, send the usual commission to settle the form of the province, and to make a proper establishment to preserve the territories which he had already subdued. But after these representations were dispatched, it became apparent that the king of Parthia had deceived him with false professions, while he actually made great progress in his treaty with the kings of Armenia and Pontus, and meant to support them with all his force. In resentment of this act of treachery, and to prevent the effects of it, Lucullus proposed to carry the war into Parthia; and, for this purpose, ordered the legions that were stationed in Pontus to march without delay into Armenia.

These troops, however, already tired of the service, and suspecting that they were intended for some distant and hazardous enterprize, broke out into open mutiny, and refused to obey their officers: This example was soon afterwards followed by other parts of the army; and the general was obliged to confine his operations to the kingdom of Armenia. He endeavoured, by passing the mountains near to the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, to penetrate as far as Artaxata, the capital of the kingdom. By this march he forced Tigranes once more to hazard a battle, and obtained a victory; but his own army, notwithstanding their success, were so much discouraged with the change of climate, which they experienced in ascending the mountains of Armenia, and with the early and severe approach of winter in those high lands, that they again mutinied, and obliged their general to change the plan of his operations. He turned his march to the southward, fell down on Mesopotamia, and, after a short siege, made himself master of Nisibis, a rich city in that territory, where, with other captives, he took Guras, brother to the king, who commanded in the place.

Here, however, the mutinous spirit still continuing to operate in the Roman army, it began to appear, that the general, who had so often overcome the kings of Pontus and Armenia, was better qualified to contend with an enemy, than to win or to preserve the good-will of his own troops. A report being spread that he was soon

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BOOK to be recalled, he, from that moment, lost the
III. small remains of his authority; the legions deserted their colors, and treated, with contempt or indifference, all the attempts he made to retain them.

This mutiny began in that part of the army, which, having been transported into Asia, under the command of Valerius Flaccus, had murdered this general, to put themselves under the command of Fimbria, and afterwards deserted their new leader to join with Sylla. Such crimes, under the late unhappy divisions of the republic, either remained unpunished, or were stated as merits with the party in whose favor the crime was committed. These legions, however, were, by Sylla, who was not willing to employ such instruments, or to intrust his own, or the fate of the commonwealth in such hands, left in Asia, under pretence of securing the province; and they accordingly made a considerable part in the armies successively commanded by Murena and by Lucullus. The disposition which they now showed, and that of the whole army, to disorder and mutiny, was greatly excited by the factious spirit of Publius Clodius, the relation of Lucullus, who, having himself taken offence at the general, gave this specimen of his future conduct in the State, by endeavouring to stir up rebellion among the troops. "We who have already undergone
" so many hardships," he said, "are still kept
" on foot to escort the camels that carry the
" treasures of our general, and made to pursue,

“ without end , a couple of barbarous prin- C H A P.
“ ces , that lead us over deserts , or uncultivated II.
“ wastes , while the soldiers of Pompey , after a
“ few campaigns in Spain , or in Italy , are enjoy-
“ ing the fruits of their labor in comfortable
“ settlements , procured by the favor of their
“ leader. ”

Lucullus was so much aware of the decline of his authority , that he did not chuse to expose it , by attempting to effect even a mere change of position. He hoped , that while he issued no orders of any moment , the resolution of his army not to obey him might remain a secret to the enemy. This state of his affairs , however , soon became known to Mithridates , and filled him with hopes of being able to recover his kingdom. That he might not suffer the opportunity to escape him , he fell back into Pontus , with what troops he had then under his command , and , by his authority and influence over his own subjects , soon augmented his force , penetrated among the scattered quarters of the Romans , who were left to occupy the country , and separately surpris'd or destroyed considerable bodies of their troops. Among these , he attacked and defeated Fabius , the officer who was trusted with the general command in that kingdom ; and though now turned of seventy , exposed his own person in the action , and received a wound which stopped him in the pursuit , and by that means prevented the full effect of his victory.

Lucullus , being informed of what had passed

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in Pontus, had influence enough with the army to put them in motion towards that kingdom with some appearance of order; but before his arrival, Mithridates had shut up Fabius in Cabira, and defeated Triarius with considerable slaughter. Here again the old man was wounded; and, to satisfy the army that he was not dead, was raised up into view, and remained in sight of the army while his wound was dressed. In this last defeat the Romans lost twenty-four legionary Tribunes, one hundred and fifty Centurions, and seven thousand men.

It was not doubted, however, that Lucullus, on his arrival, if the army had been disposed to act under him, would have been able soon to retrieve his affairs: but he was at this time superseded; and it was known in the army, that Acilius Glabrio was set out from Rome to assume the command. The legions therefore, under pretence that Lucullus was no longer their general, and that they themselves, by a decree of the People, had received their dismissal, refused to obey him; and the men of his army, in great numbers, actually took the route of Cappadocia on their return to Italy.

This was the state of affairs when the commissioners, who, upon the report of Lucullus, had been sent by the Senate to settle the kingdom of Pontus in the form of a province, actually arrived. They found the Proconsul destitute of power in his own camp, and Mithridates, whom they believed to be vanquished, again master
of

of his own kingdom, and joining to the experience of old age all the ardor and enterprise of youth¹². C H A P.
II.

The Roman army in Asia, as a prelude to their present defection, had been taught to upbraid the parsimony of their own general by a comparison with the liberality and munificence of Pompey, and in this comparison showed a disposition to change their leader, which, it is not doubted, Pompey, by his intrigues, and with the aid of his agents, greatly encouraged. He could in reality ill brook the private station to which, by his late oath, in entering on the Consulship, he had bound himself. He studied to support the public opinion of his importance, and wished for an occasion to derive some advantage from it; but nothing had occurred for two years that was worthy of the high distinction to which he aspired. The command in Asia he coveted the more, that it was secured to Lucullus by the splendor of his own successes, and by the unanimous judgment of the Senate and Nobles, who knew his faithful attachment to their order, and his fidelity to the aristocratical part of the constitution. The difficulties in that service were over, and nothing but the glory of terminating the war remained. Pompey, either from envy to Lucullus, or from a design to open a way to this glory for himself, contributed to the nomination of Glabrio, and to the nomination of the Prætors, who were sent

¹² Appian. Bell. Mithridat. Plutarch, in Lucullo. Dio Cassius.

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with separate commands into the provinces of Asia and Bithynia. If, upon this change, the war should become unsuccessful, or languish, he had hopes to be called for by the general voice of the People, as the only person fit to bring it to a happy conclusion. Mean time a project was started, which was likely to place him near to this scene of action, and to facilitate his removal, if judged expedient, to the command of the army in Pontus.

The pirates still continued to infest the seas, and were daily rising in their presumption, and increasing in their strength. They received continual accessions of numbers from those, who, by the unsettled state of Asia, were forced to join them for subsistence. The impunity which they enjoyed during the distractions of the Roman commonwealth, and the profits they made by their depredations encouraged many who frequented the seas to engage in the same way of life. They had been chased, and numbers of them taken by M. Antonius the orator, by Servilius Isauricus, and, last of all, by C. Antonius, the father of him who, in the capacity of Triumvir, is to become so conspicuous in the sequel of this history. But they had their retreats; and, upon the least remission of vigilance in the Roman officers, they again multiplied apace, put to sea in formidable squadrons, and embarked such numbers of men, as not only enabled them to scour the seas, but likewise to make descents on the coasts, to enter harbours, destroy shipping, and pillage the maritime towns.

They even ventured to appear off the mouth of the Tiber, and to plunder the town of Ostia. All the coasts of the empire were open to their depredations. The Roman magistrates were made prisoners in passing to and from their provinces; and citizens of every denomination, when taken by them, were forced to pay ransom, kept in captivity, or put to death. The supply of provisions to Italy was rendered extremely difficult, and the price in proportion enhanced. Every report on these subjects was exaggerated by the intrigues of Pompey, who perceived, in this occasion of public distress, the object of a new and extraordinary commission to himself.

Frequent complaints having been made, and frequent deliberations held on this subject in the Senate, Gabinius, one of the Tribunes, at last proposed, that some officer of Consular rank should be vested, during three years, with absolute powers, in order to put an effectual stop to these outrages, and to eradicate the cause of them, so as to secure for the future the inhabitants of the coast, as well as to protect the navigation of the seas. As Gabinius was known to be in concert with Pompey, the design of the proposition was manifest; and it was received in the Senate with a general aversion. "For this," it was said, "Pompey has declined the ordinary turn of Consular duty upon the expiration of his office, that he might lie in wait for extraordinary and illegal appointments." Gabinius being threatened with violence if he should persist

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III. the assembly.

A report was immediately spread in the city, that the person of the Tribune Gabinus had been actually violated; multitudes assembled at the doors of the Senate-house, and great disorders were likely to follow; it was judged prudent for the Senate to adjourn; and the members, dreading some insult from the populace, retired by separate ways to their own houses. Gabinus, without farther regard to the dissent of the Senate, prepared to carry his motion to the People; but the other nine Tribunes were inclined to oppose him. Trebellius and Roscius, in particular, promised, by their negative, to put a stop to any farther proceedings on that business. Pompey, in the mean time, with a dissimulation which constituted part of his character, affected to disapprove of the motion, and to decline the commission with which it was proposed to vest him. He had recourse to this affectation, not merely as the fittest means on the present occasion to disarm the envy of the Nobles, and to confirm the People in their choice; but still more as a manner of proceeding which suited his own disposition, no less desirous to appear forced and courted into high situations, than solicitous to gain and to hold them. He thus provoked the citizens of his own rank, no less by the shallow arts which he practised to impose on the public, than by the state which he assumed. He could scarcely expect to find a support in the order of Nobles, and least of all among those

who were likely to become the personal rivals of his fortune in the commonwealth : and yet it is mentioned, that Julius Cæsar, now about two-and-thirty years of age, and old enough to distinguish his natural antagonists in the career of ambition, took part with the creatures of Pompey on this occasion. He was disposed to court the People, and to oppose the aristocracy; either of which principles may explain his conduct in this instance. He had himself already incurred the displeasure of the Senate, but more as a libertine than as a disturber of the State, in which he had not hitherto taken any material part. In common with the youth of his time, he disliked the Senators, on account of the remaining austerity of their manners, no less than the inferior people disliked them on account of their aristocratical claims to prerogative. But whatever we may suppose to have been his motives, Cæsar, even before he seemed to have formed any ambitious designs of his own, was ever ready to abet those of every desperate adventurer who counteracted the authority of the Senate, or set the orders of government at nought; and seemed to be actuated by a species of instinct, which set him at variance with those forms of a civil nature, which checked the licence of faction¹³.

On the day on which the question on the motion of Gabinius was to be put to the People, Pompey appeared in the Comitium; and, if we

¹³ Zonaras, An. lib. x. c. 3.

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may judge from the speech which is ascribed to him, employed a dissimulation and artifice somewhat too gross even for a popular assembly. He took occasion to thank the People for the honors he had so often received; but complained, that, having already toiled so much in the public service, he still should be destined for new labors. “ You
 “ have forgotten,” he said, “ the dangers I en-
 “ countered, and the fatigues I underwent, while
 “ yet almost a boy, in the war with Cinna, in the
 “ wars in Sicily and in Africa, and what I suffered
 “ in Spain, before I was honored with any
 “ magistracy, or was of age to have a place in
 “ the Senate. But I mean not to accuse you of
 “ ingratitude; on the contrary, I have been fully
 “ repaid. Your nomination of me to conduct the
 “ war with Sertorius, when every one else
 “ declined the danger, I consider as a favor;
 “ and the extraordinary triumph you bestowed
 “ in consequence of it, as a very great honor.
 “ But I must entreat you to consider, that conti-
 “ nued application and labor exhaust the powers
 “ of the mind as well as those of the body. Trust
 “ not to my age alone, nor imagine that I am
 “ still a young man, merely because my number
 “ of years is short of what others have attained.
 “ Reckon my services and the dangers to which
 “ I have been exposed; they will exceed the
 “ number of my years, and satisfy you, that I
 “ cannot longer endure the labors and cares
 “ which are now proposed for me. But if this be
 “ not granted me, I must beg of you to consider

“ what loads of envy such appointments are likely
 “ to draw upon me from men, whose displeasure,
 “ I know, you neither do, nor ought to regard,
 “ although to me their envy would be a great
 “ misfortune: and I confess, that of all the difficul-
 “ ties and dangers of war, I fear nothing so much
 “ as this. To live with envious persons; to be
 “ called to account for miscarriage, if one fails
 “ in public affairs; to be envied, if one succeeds;
 “ who could chuse to be employed on such con-
 “ ditions? For these, and many other reasons,
 “ I pray you to leave me at rest; leave me to
 “ the care of my family, and of my private
 “ affairs. As for the present service, I pray you
 “ to chuse, among those who desire the employ-
 “ ment, some proper person; among so many,
 “ you cannot surely be at a loss. I am not the only
 “ person that loves you, or that has experience in
 “ military affairs. There are many, whose names,
 “ to avoid the imputation of flattery, I will not
 “ mention. ”

To this speech Gabinius replied; and, affecting
 to believe the sincerity of Pompey's declarations,
 observed, that it was agreeable to the character of
 this great man, neither to desire command, nor
 rashly to accept of what was pressed upon him.
 “ They who are best able to surmount difficulties,”
 he said, “ are likewise least inclined to engage in
 “ them. But it is your business, fellow-citizens,
 “ to consider, not what is agreeable to Pompey,
 “ but what is necessary to your own affairs; not
 “ to regard those who court you for offices, but

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“ those who are fit to discharge the duties of
 “ them. I wish we had many persons of this de-
 “ scription, besides the man I have proposed to
 “ your choice. Did we not all wish for such
 “ persons likewise, when we searched among the
 “ young and the old for some one whom we
 “ could oppose to Sertorius, and found none but
 “ himself? But wishes cannot avail us; we must
 “ take men as they are; we cannot create them.
 “ If there be but one man formed for our purpose,
 “ with knowledge, experience, and good fortune,
 “ we must lay hold of him, and seize him, if
 “ necessary, even by force. Compulsion here is
 “ expedient and honorable for both parties; for
 “ those who employ it, because it is to find them
 “ a person who can conduct their affairs; for him
 “ who suffers it, because he is to have an oppor-
 “ tunity of serving his country, an object for
 “ which no good citizen will refuse to expose his
 “ person, or to sacrifice his life.

“ Do you think that Pompey, while yet a boy,
 “ was fit to command armies, to protect your
 “ allies, to reduce your enemies, to extend your
 “ empire; but that now in the prime of life, ripe
 “ in wisdom and experience, he can serve you no
 “ longer? You employed the boy, you suffer the
 “ man to be idle. When a private citizen of
 “ Equestrian rank, he was fit for war and affairs
 “ of state; now he is a Senator, he is fit for
 “ nothing! Before you had any trial of him, you
 “ made choice of him for the most important
 “ trust; now that you have experience of his

“ ability, of his conduct, and of his success, you
“ hesitate. Is the present occasion less pressing
“ than the former? Is the antagonist of Sertorius
“ not fit to contend with pirates? But such absur-
“ dities cannot be received by the Roman Peo-
“ ple. As for you, Pompey, submit to the will
“ of your fellow-citizens. For this you was born,
“ for this you was educated. I call upon you as
“ the property of your country; I call upon you
“ as its defence and safe-guard; I call upon you
“ to lay down your life, if necessary. This I
“ know, if your country require it, you will not,
“ you cannot refuse.

“ But it is ridiculous to accost you in this man-
“ ner; you, who have proved your courage and
“ your love to your country in so many and such
“ arduous trials. Be ruled by this great assem-
“ bly. Despise the envy of a few, or study the
“ more to deserve the general favor. Let the
“ envious pine when they hear of your actions,
“ it is what they deserve. Let us be delivered
“ from the evils that surround us, while you pro-
“ ceed to end your life as you began it, with suc-
“ cess and with glory.”

When Gabinius had finished his speech, Trebellius, another of the Tribunes, attempted to reply; but such a clamor was immediately raised by the multitude that he could not be heard. He then, by the authority of his office, forbade the question; and Gabinius instantly proposed to have the sense of the Tribes, Whether Trebellius had not forfeited the character of Tribune? Seventeen

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Tribes were of this opinion, and the eighteenth would have made the majority, when Trebellius thought proper to withdraw his negative. Roscius, another of the Tribunes, intimated by signs (for he could not be heard) that a second should be joined with Pompey in this commission. But the clamor was renewed, and the meeting likely to end in riot and violence. Then all opposition to the motion was dropt. In this state of affairs, Gabinius, trusting that, in the present humor of the People, no man would dare to oppose the measure, and wishing to increase the honor of Pompey's nomination, by the seeming concurrence of some of the more respectable citizens, called upon Catulus, who was then first on the roll of the Senate, to deliver his opinion, and led him up into the rostra for this purpose.

This citizen, by the equability of his conduct, and by his moderation in support of the aristocracy had great authority even with the opposite party. He began his speech to the People with professions of public zeal, which obliged him to deliver with plainness what he thought was conducive to their good, and which entitled him to a deliberate hearing, before they should pronounce on the merits of what he was about to deliver. "If you listen," he said, "something may still be offered to inform your judgment; if you break forth again into disorders and tumults, your capacity and good understanding will avail you nothing. I must begin with declaring my opinion, that powers so great, and for

“ so long a time, as are now proposed for Pom-
“ pey, should not be committed to any single
“ citizen.

“ The precedent is contrary to law, and in it-
“ self, in the highest degree, dangerous to the
“ State. Whence came the usurpations of Ma-
“ rius, but from the habit of continued com-
“ mand; from his being put at the head of every
“ army, intrusted with every war, and no less
“ than six times re-elected Consul in the space of
“ a few years? What inflamed to such a degree
“ the arrogant spirit of Sylla, but the continual
“ command of armies, and the continual power
“ of Dictator? Such is human nature, that, in
“ age as well as in youth, we are debauched with
“ power; and if inured for any time to act as su-
“ periors, we cannot submit afterwards to the
“ equal and moderate station of citizens.

“ I speak not with any particular reference to
“ Pompey; I speak what the law requires, and
“ what I am sure is for your good. If high of-
“ fice and command be an honor, every one
“ who has pretensions should enjoy them in his
“ turn; if they be a load or a burden, every one
“ ought to bear his part. These are the laws of
“ justice and of republican government. By ob-
“ serving them, republics have an advantage
“ over every other state. By employing many
“ men in their turns, they educate and train
“ many citizens for the public service, and have
“ numbers amongst whom they may chuse the
“ fittest to serve on every particular emergency.

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“ But if we suffer one or a few to engross every
“ office of public service or public trust, the list
“ of those who are qualified for any such trust
“ will decrease in proportion. If we always em-
“ ploy the same person in every public service,
“ we shall soon have no other person to employ.
“ Why were we so much at a loss for experi-
“ enced commanders when Sertorius appeared to
“ threaten Italy with an invasion? Because com-
“ mand, for a considerable time before that pe-
“ riod, had been engrossed by a few, and those
“ few alone had any experience. Although,
“ therefore, I have the highest opinion of Pom-
“ pey’s abilities for this service, I must prefer to
“ his pretensions the public utility and the ex-
“ press declaration of the laws.

“ You annually elect Consuls and Prætors: to
“ what purpose? to serve the State; or to carry
“ for a few months the ensigns of power? If to
“ serve the State, why name private persons with
“ unprecedented commissions to perform what
“ your magistrates are either fit to perform, or
“ are not fit to have been elected?

“ If there be any uncommon emergency that
“ requires more than the ordinary exertions of
“ government, the constitution has provided an
“ expedient. You may name a Dictator. The
“ power of this officer has no bounds, but in
“ respect to the place in which it is to be exer-
“ cised, and to the time during which it is to last.
“ It is to be exercised within the limits of Italy,
“ where alone the vitals of the State can be

“ exposed to any great or pressing attack ; it is
“ limited to six months, a sufficient period in which
“ to remove the cause of any sudden alarm. But
“ this unlimited power, which is now proposed
“ for so long a time, and over the whole empire,
“ must end in calamities, such as this and other
“ nations have suffered from the ambition and
“ usurpation of arbitrary and seditious men.

“ If you bestow unlimited power by sea and
“ by land on a single man, in what manner is he
“ to exercise his power? Not by himself in per-
“ son, for he cannot be every where present ; he
“ must have lieutenants or substitutes who act
“ under his orders. He cannot even attend to
“ what is passing at once in Egypt and in Spain,
“ in Africa, Syria, and in Greece. If so, then
“ why may not those who are to act be officers
“ named by you, and not by any intermediate
“ person ; accountable to you, and not to an-
“ other ; and in the dangers they run, animated
“ with the prospect of honor to themselves, not
“ to a person who is unnecessarily interposed be-
“ tween them and their country? Gabinus pro-
“ poses to invest this officer with authority to
“ name many lieutenants ; I pray you consider,
“ whether these officers should depend upon any
“ intermediate person, or upon yourselves alone?
“ and whether there be sufficient cause to suspend
“ all the legal powers, and to supersede all the
“ magistrates in the commonwealth, and all the
“ governors of provinces in every part of your
“ empire, in order to make war on pirates? ”

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So much of what Catulus is supposed to have delivered on this occasion is preserved among the fragments of Dio Cassius. It is mentioned by others, that the audience expressed their goodwill and respect for this Senator in a compliment which they paid to him, probably near the close of his speech, when urging some of his former arguments, he asked, "If this man to whom alone, by thus employing him in every service, you give an opportunity of learning the profession of a statesman or soldier, should fall, to whom will you next have recourse?" The People answered, with a general acclamation, *To yourself*¹⁴. They revered, for a moment, the candor and ability of this eminent citizen, but could not withstand the arts of Pompey, and the tide of popularity, which then ran so much in his favor.

This day being far spent in debate, another day was appointed in which to collect the votes, when a decree passed to vest Pompey with the supreme command over all the fleets and armies of the republic, in every sea without distinction or limit, and on every coast within four hundred stadia, or fifty miles of the shore. This commission took place in Italy, and extended throughout every province, during three years from the time of passing the edict.

As Pompey owed these extraordinary powers entirely to the Tribune Gabinius, he intended to

¹⁴ Cicero pro Lege Manilia.

have employed him next in command to himself; but the law which excluded the Tribunes from succeeding to any such commands, in the first year after the expiration of their office, stood in the way of this choice; and Pompey did not persist in it.

Upon the publication of an edict investing an officer of such renown with so high powers for restoring the navigation of the seas, corn and every other article of importation at Rome considerably fell in their price. The friends of Pompey already triumphed in the success of their measure, and he himself soon after, notwithstanding the meanness of the enemy opposed to him, gained much credit by the rapid, decisive and effectual measures he took to obtain the end of his appointment. Although it was the middle of winter, a season too rough, even in the Mediterranean, for such shipping as was then in use, he gave orders to arm and put to sea as many vessels as could be collected on every part of the coast. In a little time he had returns of two hundred and seventy gallies fit for service, one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse embodied on the coasts to which his command extended. That the pirates might be every where attacked at once, and find no refuge by changing their usual places of retreat, he divided the maritime parts of the empire into separate districts, appointed lieutenants with full powers in each, assigned their stations, and allotted their quotas of shipping and troops. He himself, with

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a Squadron of sixty ships, proposed to visit every quarter, and to give his presence where it should be most required. He began with the coasts of Spain and Gaul, and the seas of Sardinia and Corsica; and in passing from thence, while the fleet coasted round the peninsula of Italy, he himself went on shore, and travelled by land to meet them at Brundisium. In this journey, upon his approach to Rome, he enjoyed, in all respects, the state of a great monarch, was received with acclamations by the People, and was courted by multitudes of every condition who went forth to receive him. All his complaints and representations were received as commands. The Consul Piso, being supposed not to forward his levies with sufficient alacrity, would have been degraded, if Pompey himself had not interposed to prevent a motion which the Tribune Gabinius intended to make for this purpose.

The fleet being arrived at Brundisium, Pompey hastened to join it, and from thence passed by the stations of his several lieutenants in the sea-ports of Macedonia and Greece, to the coasts of Pamphylia and Cilicia, which were the principal resort of the pirates. Such of these banditti, as he took in his way, were treated with mildness; and this circumstance, together with the great preparations which were reported from every quarter to be making against them, with the small hopes they had of being able to escape, induced them, in great numbers, to surrender themselves. In the bay of Cilicia he found a squadron of their
ships

ships assembled, and ready to cover the harbours at which they had been accustomed to collect their stores, and to lodge their booty. They separated, however, upon his appearance, took refuge in different creeks of that mountainous coast, and afterwards surrendered at discretion, delivering up all the forts they had erected, with all their stores of timber, cordage, and sails, of which they had made a considerable provision.

By these means the war was finished about the middle of summer, six months after the nomination of Pompey to this command. In that time seventy-two gallies were sunk, three hundred and six were taken, and a hundred and twenty piratical harbours or strong-holds on shore were destroyed. Ten thousand of the pirates were killed in action, and twenty thousand, who had surrendered themselves, remained prisoners at the end of the war. These Pompey, having sufficiently deprived of the means of returning to their former way of life, transplanted to different parts of the continent, where the late or present troubles, by thinning the inhabitants, had made room for them. Upon this occasion he repeopled the city of Soli in Cilicia, which had been lately laid waste, and forcibly emptied of its inhabitants by Tigranes, to replenish his newly established capital of Tigranocerta in Armenia. After this re-establishment of Soli, the place, in honor of its restorer, came to be known by the name of Pompeiopolis¹⁵.

¹⁵ Dio Cassius. lib. xxxvi. c. 20.
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Whilst Pompey was thus employed in disposing of the pirates on the coast of Cilicia, he received a message from Lappa in the island of Crete, now besieged by Metellus, intimating that the people of this place, although they held out against Metellus, were willing to surrender to Pompey. This sort of preference implying estimation and popular regard, was one of the temptations which Pompey was supposed unable to resist; he accordingly, without consulting with Metellus, sent an officer to receive the surrender of Lappa.

Metellus had now been near two years in the island of Crete, had almost entirely reduced it, and had a near prospect of that triumph, which he afterwards actually obtained, with the title of Creticus, on account of this conquest. Pompey's commission, as commander in chief of all the sea and land forces of Rome within fifty miles of the coast, no doubt, extended to this island; but it was justly reckoned invidious to interfere in the province of a Proconsul, whose appointment preceded his own. And this step revived all the former imputations against him, that he considered himself as every one's superior, strove to suppress every growing fame, and threw his personal consideration as a bar in the way of every rising merit. Metellus, stung with resentment, and trusting to the support of the Senate, ventured to condemn his orders; even after Octavius, who had been sent by Pompey to take the inhabitants of Lappa under his protection, had entered the town, and in his name commanded Metellus to desist

from the attack of a place already in possession of the Romans. He nevertheless continued the siege, forced the town to surrender, and threatening to treat Octavius himself as a rebel, obliged him to leave the island. The Senate, without otherwise deciding the controversy which was likely to arise on this subject, afterwards acknowledged Metellus as the conqueror of Crete, and decreed him a triumph in that capacity¹⁶.

The dispute, however, at this time, might have led to disagreeable consequences, if Pompey, while he was preparing to pass into Crete against Metellus, had not found another object of more importance to his plan of greatness¹⁷. Lucullus had always appeared to him a more formidable rival in power and consideration than Metellus, and the war in Pontus and Armenia likely to furnish a more ample field of glory than the destruction of pirates.

Mithridates, though once nearly vanquished, was, by means of the distractions which, communicating from the popular factions at Rome, had infected the army of Lucullus, enabled to renew the war with fresh vigor. Knowing that the Roman general was no longer obeyed, he not only returned, as has been mentioned, into his own kingdom, but, together with Tigranes, began to act on the offensive, and made excursions even into Cilicia. Acilius Glabrio, the Proconsul

¹⁶ Liv. Epit. Plutarch, in Pompeio. Dio Cass. lib. xxxv.

¹⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvi. c. 28.

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appointed to succeed in the command of the Roman army, hearing the bad state of affairs, stopped short in Bithynia, and even refused to furnish Lucullus with the reinforcements he had brought from Italy. In these circumstances the province of Asia, likely to become a principal source of revenue to the commonwealth, was in imminent danger of being wrested from their hands. The friends of Pompey seized the opportunity to obtain a farther enlargement of his powers. Manilius, one of the Tribunes, in concert with Gabinius, moved the People to extend his commission to the provinces of Phrygia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus; and of course to commit the war in Armenia and Pontus to his direction. This motion was strenuously opposed by Catulus, Hortensius, and all the principal members of the Senate. It was supported by Marcus Tullius Cicero and by Caius Julius Cæsar, who both intended, on this occasion, to court the popular party, by espousing the cause of a person so much in favor with the People.

Cicero was one of the first of the Romans who rested his consideration entirely on civil accomplishments, and who became great by the services he was qualified to render his friends in a civil capacity, without any pretensions to the merit of a soldier. The character of a pleader was become one of the most powerful recommendations to public notice, and one of the surest roads to consequence and civil preferments. Cicero, with a fine genius and great application, was supposed to

excel all who had gone before him in this line of pursuit. His talents were powerful instruments in his own hands; they rendered him necessary to others, and procured him the courtship of every party in its turn. He was understood to favor the aristocracy, and was inclined to support the Senate, as the great bulwark of the State, against the licence of the populace, and the violence of factious leaders. But being now Prætor, with a near prospect of the Consulate, he sacrificed much to his ambition in the pursuit of preferments, which were new in his family, and which the ancient nobility were disposed to envy him. His speech, upon the motion of Manilius, was the first he had ever made in a political character: it is still extant, and does more honor to his talents as a pleader, than to his steadiness in support of the constitution and government of his country¹¹. He turned aside, by artful evasions, the wise councils of Hortensius and Catulus; and, under pretence of setting forth the merits of Pompey, and of stating precedents in his favor, dazzled his audience, by enumerating the irregular honors which they themselves had already conferred on this object of their favor.

With such able advocates, in a cause to which the People were already so well disposed, the interest of Pompey could not miscarry; and an addition was accordingly made to his former commission, by which he became in reality sovereign

¹¹ Cicer. Orat. pro Lege Manilia.

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of the fairest part of the empire. Upon the arrival of this news in Cilicia, where he then was, he affected surprise and displeasure. "Are my enemies," he said, "never to give me any respite from war and trouble?" He had talents, undoubtedly, sufficient to support him in the use of means less indirect; but a disposition to artifice, like every other ruling passion, will stifle the plainest suggestions of reason, and seems to have made him forget, on the present occasion, that his own attendants at least had common penetration. They turned away from the farce which he acted, with shame and disgust²⁹; and he himself made no delay in showing the avidity with which he received what he thus affected to dislike; laid aside all thoughts of other business; immediately dispatched his orders to all the provinces that were now subjected to his power; and, without passing his mandates through the hands of Lucullus, summoned Mithridates, then with an army of between thirty and forty thousand men on the frontier of Pontus, to surrender himself at discretion. This prince, being then in treaty with Phraates, who had lately succeeded his father Arsaces in the kingdom of Parthia, and being in expectation of a powerful support from that quarter, refused to listen to this imperious message: being disappointed in his hopes of assistance from the Parthians, and finding that Phraates had joined in a league with his enemies, he at first endeavoured to

²⁹ Plutarch, in Pompeio.

pacify the Roman general; but finding that his advances for this purpose had no effect, he prepared for a vigorous resistance.

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Pompey set out for Pontus, and in his way had an interview with Lucullus, who was then in Galatia. They accosted each other at first with labored expressions of respect and of compliment on their respective services, but ended with disputes and sharp altercations. Pompey accused Lucullus of precipitation, in stating the kingdom of Pontus as a Roman province, while the king himself was alive and at liberty. Lucullus suspected that the late mutiny had been fomented by the emissaries of Pompey, to make way for his own succession to the command. He persisted in maintaining the propriety of the report which he had made to the Senate, and in which he had represented the kingdom of Pontus as conquered, and in which he had desired that commissioners should be sent as usual to secure possession; observed, that no province could be kept, if the troops stationed to preserve it refused to obey their general; that if such disorders were made the engine of politics in the competition of candidates for office, the republic had worse consequences to fear than the loss of any distant province; that although the fugitive king had taken advantage of the factions at Rome and in the army, to put himself again at the head of some forces, he had not yet recovered any considerable portion of his kingdom, nor been able to disturb the commissioners of the

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Senate, who were employed in settling the province; that there was nothing left for a successor, but the invidious task of snatching at the glory which had been won by another.

From this conference Pompey entered on the command with many indications of animosity to Lucullus; he suspended the execution of his orders; changed the plan of his operations; remitted the punishments, and recalled the rewards he had decreed to particular persons, in a manner which seemed to justify the suspicion of his having encouraged the late disorders, suffering them to pass with impunity; and treating with the usual confidence even the legions which had refused to obey the orders of their general. His own authority, however, seemed to be secured by the animosity of the army to their late commander, and by their desire to contrast their own conduct, and the success of the war under their present leader, with that which had taken place under his predecessor. Finding himself, therefore at the head of numerous and well-affected forces, both by sea and by land, he lined the whole coast of the Egean and Euxine Sea with his galleys, and, at the head of a great army, advanced in search of the enemy.

Mithridates, upon the approach of Pompey, continued retiring before him towards the Lesser Armenia, laid waste the country through which the Roman army was to pass, and endeavoured to distress them by the want of provisions and forage.

For several days successively the armies

encamped in sight of each other. Mithridates chose his stations, so that he could not be safely attacked; and as his object was to pass the Euphrates without being forced to a battle, he generally decamped in the night, and, by his superior knowledge of the country, passed through ways in which the Roman army could not hastily follow without manifest danger of surprise. Pompey, sensible that, upon this plan of operations, the king of Pontus must effect his retreat, took a resolution to pass him by a forced march, not in the night, but in the heat of the day, when the troops of Asia were most inclined to repose. If he should succeed in this design, and get between their army and the Euphrates, he hoped to force them to a battle, or oblige them to change their route. He accordingly, on the day he had chosen for this attempt, doubled his march, passed the enemy's camp at noon-day unobserved, and was actually posted on their route, when they began to decamp, as usual, on the following night. In the encounter which followed, having all the advantages of a surprise, and in the dark, against an army on its march, and little accustomed to order, he gained a decisive victory, in which he cut off or dispersed all the forces on which the king of Pontus relied for the defence of his kingdom²².

²² Dio Cass. lib. xxxvi. c. 32.

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Mithridates escaped with a few attendants; and, in this extremity, proposed to throw himself again into the arms of Tigranes; but was refused by this prince, who was himself then attacked by a rebellion of his own son. Upon this disappointment he fled to the northward, passing by the sources of the Euphrates to the kingdom of Colchos, and from thence by the eastern coasts of the Euxine, to the Scythian Bosphorus, now the Straits of Cossa, in order to take refuge in the Chersonesus, or Crim Tartary, at Panticapæ, the capital of a kingdom which he himself had acquired, and which he had bestowed on Machares, one of his sons. Upon his presenting himself at this place, he found that Machares had long since abandoned his father's fortunes; and, upon hearing of the ill state of his affairs on his first flight from Lucullus into Armenia, had sent, as an offering of peace, a golden crown to that general, and sued for the protection of the Romans. The father, highly provoked with this act of pusillanimity or treachery, assembled a force among his Scythian allies, and, deaf to all offers of submission or entreaties of this undutiful son, dragged him from the throne, and either ordered him to be put to death, or made his situation so painful, that he thought proper to put an end to his own life.

In this manner Mithridates entered anew on the possession of a kingdom, in which he had not only a safe retreat, but likewise the means of executing new projects of war against his enemies. By the

maxims of the Romans, no kingdom was supposed to be conquered, till the king was either killed, taken, or forced to surrender himself; and Pompey, by this flight of the king of Pontus, found himself under a necessity either of pursuing him into his present retreat, or of doing what he had blamed in Lucullus, by making his report of a conquest before it was fully completed. While he was deliberating on the measures to be taken in these circumstances, he was invited by Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, then in rebellion against his father, to enter with his army into that kingdom, and to give judgement on the differences subsisting between the father and the son.

In consequence of this invitation, Pompey marched into Armenia, joined the rebel prince, and, under pretence of supporting the son, was about to strip the father of his kingdom, when this monarch, with an excess of meanness, proportioned to the presumption with which he had enjoyed his prosperity, now resolved to cast himself entirely upon the victor's mercy. For this purpose he desired to be admitted into Pompey's presence, and, with a few attendants, presented himself for this purpose. Being told, at the entrance of the camp, that no stranger could pass on horseback, he dismounted, and was conducted on foot to the general's tent. Still bearing the diadem on his head, he took it from thence, and offered to lay it on the ground at Pompey's feet; but was told with great courtesy,

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BOOK that he might resume it; that, by submitting
III. himself to the generosity of the Romans, he had not lost his kingdom, but gained a faithful ally²¹. At the same time, under pretence of reimbursing the expence of the war, a sum of six thousand talents, or about one million one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds sterling, was exacted from him; and he himself, to this great sum which was paid to the State, added a gratuity to the army of a talent²² to each of the Tribunes, ten minæ²³ to each of the Centurions, and half a mina²⁴ to each private man.

Pompey, in disposing of the two Armenians, which were now in his power, allotted Sophene, or the Lesser Armenia, on the right of the Euphrates, to Tigranes the son, reserving Syria and Phœnicia, to which Antiochus, the last representative of the Macedonian line, had been restored by Lucullus, together with Cilicia and Galatia, to the disposal of the Romans.

Tigranes the father with great submission acquiesced in this partition; but the son, who probably expected to have been put in possession of the whole of his father's kingdom, was greatly discontented, and, while Pompey was yet in Armenia, entered into a correspondence with the

²¹ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvi. c. 35. Plutarch, in Pompeio.

²² 93l. 15sh.

²³ 32l. 5sh. 10d.

²⁴ 1l. 12sh. 3d. Vid. Arbuthnot of Ancient Coins.

king of Parthia, and solicited his assistance to overturn this establishment. On account of these practices, whether real or supposed, the son was taken into custody, carried into Italy, and made a part in the ornaments of the victor's triumph²⁵.

The Roman general, having in this manner disposed of the kingdom of Armenia, and secured the permanency of his settlement by the confinement of the rebel prince, resumed the thoughts of pursuing Mithridates into his present retreat. For this purpose he left Afranius in Armenia, with a force sufficient to secure his rear, and to prevent any disturbance on this side of the Euphrates. He himself passed the Araxes, and wintered on the Cyrus, or the Cynus, on the confines of Albania and Iberia. In the following summer, having defeated the natives of those countries in repeated encounters, he advanced to the mouth of the Phasis, where he was joined by his fleet, then plying in the Euxine Sea, under the command of Servilius. Here he appears to have deliberated, whether he should attempt to pursue Mithridates any farther; but upon considering the difficulties of the voyage, and of the march along a coast and a country entirely unknown, unfurnished with any safe harbour for his ships, or even with any means of subsistence to his army by land, he took his resolution to return, and to avail himself, in the best manner he was able, of the possessions which had

²⁵ Plutarch, in Pompeio. p. 458.

BOOK been abandoned to him by the flight of the king²⁶
III. With this resolution he directed his march by the coast, back into the kingdom of Pontus; and, finding no resistance, took all his measures, as in a conquered province. At one place he found a considerable treasure, which Stratonice, one of the concubines of the king, by whom he had a son named Xiphares, disclosed to him, on condition that, if the chance of war should throw Xiphares into the hands of the conqueror, his life should be spared. But this unhappy son was exposed to other dangers besides those the mother apprehended. Mithridates, upon hearing of the price which was paid for his life, ordered him to be slain. "That woman," he said, "should have likewise bargained with me in favor of her son". At other places the Roman army found the vestiges of great magnificence, joined to monuments of superstition and of cruelty. They found some productions of an art, in which the king was supposed to be master, relating to the composition of poisons, and of their antidotes, and some records of dreams, together with the interpretations²⁷, which had been given by his women.

From Pontus, Pompey, having made a proper disposition of the fleet in the Euxine, to cover the coast from any attempts which Mithridates

²⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 3. Plutarch, in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridat.

²⁷ Plutarch, in Pomp. p. 462.

might make from the Bosphorus and opposite coasts, set out for the kingdom of Syria, which he now determined to seize in behalf of the Romans. Lucullus had already, agreeably to the policy of his country, and under pretence of setting the Syrians free, separated their kingdom from the other possessions of Tigranes: but the pretence upon which he acted in this matter, being sufficient to prevent his seizing upon Syria as a Roman province, he was content with restoring it to Antiochus, the last pretender of the Macedonian line, who had lived eighteen years in the greatest obscurity in Cilicia. Pompey now proposed to complete the transaction, by seizing for the Romans themselves, what the other affected only to restore to the lawful owner²⁸; and this intended owner now pleaded in vain against the Romans that right of descent from the Macedonian line, which Lucullus had employed with so much force to supplant Tigranes²⁹.

On the march into Syria, Pompey, either in person or by his lieutenants, received the submission of all the principalities or districts in his way, and made the following arrangements. The Lesser Armenia, once intended for Tigranes the son, he gave to Dejotarus, king of Galatia³⁰, who afterwards was long continued on the frontier of the empire as a faithful dependant, and

²⁸ Justin. lib. xi. c. 1 & 2.

²⁹ Appian. in Mithridat. p. 244.

³⁰ Eutropius, lib. vi.

BOOK with possessions which served as a barrier against
III. hostile invasions from that quarter. Paphlagonia was given to Attalus and Pylæmenus, who were likewise liberal tributaries to the Roman officers, and vigilant guards on the frontiers of the empire. Upon his arrival at Damascus, he had many applications, from the late subjects or dependants of the Syrian monarchy; among others, from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, two brothers contending for the sovereignty of Judea, who now repaired to him for judgment, and requested the interposition of his power in behalf of the party he should be pleased to favor.

Of these rivals, who were sons of Alexander, late high priest of the Jews, Hyrcanus the elder had succeeded to his mother Alexandra, whom the father had left his immediate successor in the throne; but was dispossessed by his younger brother Aristobulus, who, being of a more active spirit, had formed a powerful faction among the people.

Hyrcanus took refuge among the Arabs, and prevailed upon Aretas, the chieftain of some powerful tribe of that people, to support him with an army, in recovering the sovereignty of the Jews. In conjunction with this ally, he accordingly laid siege to Jerusalem, but was disappointed of his object by Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, who being then in Syria at the request of Aristobulus, from whom he received a present of three hundred talents, or about fifty-seven thousand

thousand and nine hundred pounds sterling, interposed, and obliged the Arabs to raise the siege. Upon the arrival of Gabinius, whom Pompey had sent before him into Syria, Aristobulus thought proper to make him likewise a present of fifty talents, and by these means remained in possession of the sovereignty at the arrival of Pompey.

It is alledged that each of the contending parties made their presents to the general himself; Hyrcanus in particular, that of a beautiful piece of plate, admired for its workmanship and weight, being the imitation of a spreading vine, with its leaves and fruit in massy gold³¹; and these circumstances merit attention, as they furnish some instances of the manner in which great riches, now in so much request at Rome, were amassed by Roman generals in the course of their services. Besides what they gained in this manner, it is likely that every conquest they effected, every revolution they brought about, and every protection they granted were extremely profitable.

Pompey, on hearing the merits of the question between the two brothers, declared for Hyrcanus, and advanced towards the city, to execute the decree he had passed. Upon his approach he was again met by Aristobulus, who made fresh offers of submission and of a public contribution in money; and Pompey sent forward Gabi-

³¹ Joseph, Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 2.



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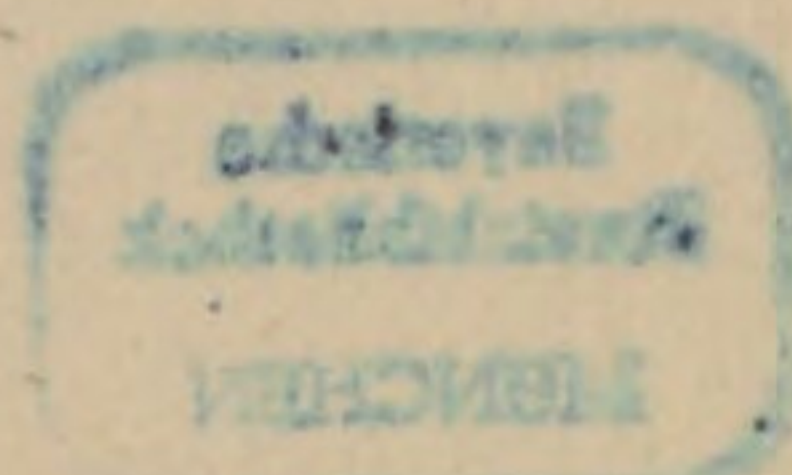
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nus to take possession of the place, in terms of this submission. But upon a report that the gates were still kept shut by the party of Aristobulus, who yet remained in his camp, he ordered this prince into confinement, and advanced with his army.

The citizens being divided, those who espoused the cause of Hyrcanus were willing to receive the Romans; the others, who were attached to Aristobulus, retired into the temple, and broke down the bridge by which this edifice was joined to the streets, and made every other preparation to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The gates of the city, in the mean time, were thrown open by the party of Hyrcanus; and the Romans being admitted, took possession of all the principal stations within the walls, and prepared to attack the temple. This building had all the advantages of a citadel, built on a height, surrounded with natural precipices, or with a deep ditch, overhung with lofty battlements and towers. Pompey sent for battering engines to Tyre, and cut down all the woods in the neighbourhood to furnish materials for filling up the ditch, raising his mound of approach³², and erecting his towers. All his works were with great obstinacy counteracted by those who had taken refuge in the Temple. He observed, however, in the course of his operations, that the people within, although they defended their

³² The Agger.



persons when attacked on the Sabbath-day, yet they did not labor, either in repairing any of their own defences, or in opposing or demolishing the works of the besiegers. He accordingly took advantage of this circumstance, made no assaults on that day, but carried on his attack in filling up the ditch, and carrying on his approach. In this manner his towers, without interruption, were raised to the level of the battlements, and his engines playing from thence, made great havoc among the besieged. The Jews, however, even under the discharge of the enemy's missiles, still continued at the altar to perform their usual rites. While they were engaged in these holy exercises they took so little precaution against the dangers to which they were exposed, that numbers perished in offering up the sacrifices, and mingled their blood with that of the victims.

In the third month after the siege began, one of the towers of the Temple was brought in ruin to the ground; and Faustus, the son of Sylla, with two Centurions at the head of the divisions they commanded, entered the breach, and putting all whom they met to the sword, made way for more numerous parties to follow them, and covered the avenues and porches of the Temple with the slain. The priests, who were even then employed in the sacrifices, waited for the enemy with great composure, and, without discontinuing their duties, were slain at the altars. Numbers of the people threw themselves from the precipices;

BOOK and others, setting fire to the booths in which
III. they had lodged under the walls of the Temple, were consumed in the flames. About twelve or thirteen thousand perished on this occasion, without any proportionable loss to the besiegers, or to those who conducted the storm.

Pompey, being master of the Temple, and struck with the obstinate valor with which the people had devoted themselves to its preservation was curious to see the interior recess. This place, into which no one was ever admitted besides the high priest, he supposed to contain the sacred emblems of that power who inspired his votaries with so ardent and so unconquerable a zeal. And he ventured, to the equal consternation and horror of his own party among the Jews, as of those who opposed him, to enter with his usual attendance into the Holy of Holies. He found it adorned with lamps, candlesticks, cups, vessels of incense, with their supports all of solid gold, with a great collection of the richest perfumes and a sacred treasure of two thousand talents, or about three hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds sterling.

Having satisfied his curiosity, it is mentioned that he respected the religion of the place so much as to have left every part of this treasure untouched, and to have given directions that the Temple itself should be purified, in order to expiate the profanation of which he himself had been guilty. He restored Hyrcanus to the priesthood or sovereignty of the kingdom, but charged

him with a considerable tribute to the Romans, and at the same time stript the nation of all those possessions or dependencies in Palestine and Cœlesyria, which had been acquired or held in subjection by their ancestors. Such were Gadara, Scythopolis, Hyppus, Pella, Samaria, Marissa, Azotus, Jamana, Arethusa, Gaza, Joppa, and Dora, with what was then called Strato's Tower, and afterwards Cæsarea. Under pretence of restoring these several places to their liberties, they were detached from the principality of the Jews, but in reality annexed to the Roman province of Syria³³.

Pompey now recollecting that he had formerly carried his arms to the shores of the Atlantic, and to the boundaries of Numidia and of Spain; that he had recently penetrated to the coasts of the Euxine, and to the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea; to the end that he might not leave any part of the known world unexplored by his arms, now formed a project to finish this round of exploits, by visiting the shores of the Asiatic or Eastern Ocean: a circumstance which was to complete the glory of his approaching triumph, and raise him, as his flatterers were pleased to observe, to a rank above every conqueror of the present or any preceding age³⁴.

³³ Joseph, de Bell. Jud. lib. i. & vii. & Ant. lib. xiv. c. 6.

³⁴ Plutarch, in Pom. p. 463.

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But while Pompey was employed in the settlement of Syria, in the reduction of Jerusalem, and meditating these farther conquests, Mithridates was busy in making preparations to renew the war. Having heard of the extremities to which the citizens of Rome had been frequently reduced by the invasion of the Gauls and of Hannibal, and by the insurrections of their own subjects and slaves, he concluded that they were weakest at home, or might be attacked with the greatest advantage in Italy. He again, therefore, resumed the project of marching an army of Scythians by the Danube and the Alps. He visited all the princes in his neighbourhood, made alliances with them, which he confirmed by giving to some of them his daughters in marriage, and persuaded them, by the hopes of a plentiful spoil, to join with him in the project of invading Europe. He even dispatched his agents into Gaul, to secure the co-operations of nations on that side of the world, and trusted that, on his appearance in Italy, many of the discontented inhabitants would join him as they had joined Hannibal; and that the slaves, so lately at open war with their masters, would likewise be a plentiful supply of recruits to his army.

These projects, however, appeared to his own nation too hazardous and vast. They were suited to the state of a king, who wished to perish with splendor; but not to that of subjects and followers who had humbler hopes, and who chose to be governed by more reasonable

prospects of success. The king himself, while he meditated such extensive designs, being confined by an ulcer in his face, had been for a considerable time concealed from public view, and had not admitted any person to his presence besides some favorite Eunuchs. The minds of his subjects, and of his own family in particular, were much alienated from him by some late acts of barbarous severity against Machares and Xiphares, two of his children, who, with some others as we have mentioned, had incurred his resentment.

Pharnaces, another son, attended the father; and, though disposed to betray him, was still much in his confidence. The people of Phana-goria, a town on the shore of the Bosphorus, opposite to the fortress at which the king now resided, together with the inhabitants of the country, pretending a variety of provocations, revolted against him; and the army, during his confinement, losing the usual awe of his person, mutinied, and acknowledged Pharnaces for king. They assembled round the fort in which Mithridates was lodged, and which he had garrisoned with a chosen body of men. When he appeared on the battlements, and desired to know their demands: "To exchange you," they said, "for Pharnaces; an old king for a young one." Even while he received this answer, and while many of his guards deserted him, he still hoped that, if he were at liberty, he might retrieve his affairs. He desired, therefore, by repeated mes-

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fages, to know whether he might have leave to depart in safety? But none of the messengers he sent with this question being suffered to return, he apprehended that there was a design to deliver him up into the hands of the Romans. Under this apprehension he had recourse to his last resort, a dose of poison, which, it is said, he always carried in the scabbard of his sword. Being to employ this sovereign remedy of all his evils, he dismissed, with expressions of kindness and gratitude, such of his attendants as still continued faithful to him; and being left with two of his daughters, who earnestly desired to die with their father, he allowed them to share in the draught, and saw them expire. But the portion which he had reserved for himself not being likely to overcome the vigor of his constitution, or, as was believed in those credulous times, being too powerfully counteracted by the effect of many antidotes he had taken against poison, he ordered a faithful slave who attended him, to perform with his sword what was in those times accounted the highest proof, as it was the last act, of fidelity in a servant to his master.

Accounts of this event were brought to Pompey, while his army was encamped at the distance of some days march from the capital of Judea, in his way to Arabia. The messengers appeared carrying wreaths of laurel on the points of their spears; and the army, crowding around their general to learn the tidings, were informed of

the death of Mithridates. This they received with acclamations, and immediately proceeded to make all the ordinary demonstrations of joy. Pompey, having now accomplished the principal object of the war, dropped his design on Arabia, and directed the march of his army towards Pontus. Here he received the submission of Pharnaces, and, with many other gifts, was presented with the embalmed corpse of the king. The whole army crowded to see it, examined the features and the scars, testifying, by these last effects of their curiosity, the respect which they entertained for this extraordinary man. He had, with short intervals, occupied the arms of the Romans during forty years; and though he could not bring the natives of Asia to match with the Roman legions, yet he frequently, by the superiority of his own genius, stood firm in distress, or rose from misfortune with new and unexpected resources. He was tall, and of a vigorous constitution, addicted to women, and, though superior to every other sort of seduction, to this his ardent and impetuous spirit made him a frequent and an easy prey. He appears to have loved and trusted many of that sex with a boundless passion. By some of them he was followed in the field; others he distributed in his different palaces; had many children, and entertained more parental affection than commonly attends the polygamy of Asiatic princes; yet even towards his own sons, as well as towards every one else, on occasions which alarmed the

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jealousy of his crown, he was sanguinary and inexorable.

Pompey proceeded to settle the remainder of his conquests; and, besides the arrangements already mentioned, annexed the kingdom of Pontus to the province of Bithynia, gave the Bosphorus to Pharnaces, and put the province of Syria, extending to the frontier of Egypt, under the government of Scaurus. He had now, from the time of his appointment to succeed Lucullus, for about three years, had the sole direction of the affairs of the Romans in Asia³⁵; and had exchanged with the king of Parthia provoking messages, which, in a different conjuncture, might have led to immediate war. But the circumstances were not yet ripe for such a measure, and Pompey had provided sufficient materials for a triumph, without attempting to break through those boundaries on which so many Roman generals were doomed to disappointments, and on which the progress of the empire itself was destined to stop.

Without entertaining any farther projects for the present, he set out with two legions on the route of Cilicia towards Italy, having Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, together with Aristobulus, the late usurper of the Jewish throne, with his family, two sons and two daughters, as captives to adorn his triumph³⁶.

³⁵ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 6.

³⁶ Joseph, de Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 3.

C H A P. I I I.

Growing Corruption of the Roman Officers of State.

— *The love of Consideration changed for Avarice, Rapacity, and Prodigality. — Laws against Extortion. — Cataline a Candidate for the Consulship. — Conspiracy with Autronius. — Competition for the Consulate. — Election of Cicero and Antonius. — Condition of the Times. — Agrarian Law of Rullus. — Trial of Rabirius. — Cabals of the Tribunes. — Of Cataline. — His flight from the City. — Discovery of his Accomplices. — Their execution.*

ABOUT the time that Pompey obtained his commission to command with so extensive a power in the suppression of the pirates, the tide began to run high against the aristocratical party. The populace, led by some of the Tribunes, were ever ready to insult the authority of the Senate; and the vices of particular men gave frequent advantages against the whole order of Nobility. Corruption and dangerous faction prevailed at elections, and the preferments of State were generally coveted, as steps to the government of provinces, where fortunes were amassed by every species of abuse, oppression, and violence.

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U C. 686.
C. Calpurnius Piso,
M. Ae.
Glabrio.

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Lex Corne-
lia de Am-
bitu.

Envy and indignation concurred in rousing the People against these abuses. Cornelius, one of the Tribunes, proposed a severe law against bribery, by which persons convicted of this crime should be disqualified for any office of State. The Senate wished to soften the rigor of this law, by limiting the penalty to a pecuniary fine; and the Consul, Calpurnius Piso, moved for an edict to this purpose, in order to anticipate and to preclude the more violent law of Cornelius. But the Tribune prevailed, and obtained an act imposing the severer penalty. He likewise, by another decree of the People, attacked the discretionary jurisdiction of the Prætors¹, obliged them to be more explicit in the edicts they published, and to observe them more exactly.

The crime of extortion in the provinces, however, was the great disgrace of the Romans. To have found an effectual remedy for this evil, would have done more honor to the commonwealth than they had derived from all their conquests. Severe laws were accordingly enacted, complaints were willingly received, and prosecutions encouraged. Candidates for popularity and public favor generally began with endeavouring to bring some offender under this title to public justice; but the example of this State, after all, has left only this piece of instruction to mankind: That just government over conquered provinces is scarcely

¹ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvi. c. 23.

to be hoped for, and least of all where republics are the conquerors. C H A P.
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Manilius, one of the Tribunes of the People, in order to strengthen the inferior class of his constituents, had obtained by surprise an act², by which the citizens of slavish extraction were to be promiscuously enrolled in all the Tribes. This act, having drawn upon him the resentment of the Senate, compelled him to seek for security under the protection of Gabinius and Pompey. With this view he moved his famous act, in which Cicero concurred, to vest Pompey with the command in Asia. This motion procured him a powerful support, and, on some occasions, the general voice of the People in his favor. Soon after this transaction, being prosecuted for some offence at the tribunal of Cicero, who was then Prætor, and being refused the usual delays, the Prætor was obliged to explain this step in a speech to the People; in which he told them, that he meant to favor Manilius, and that, his own term in office being about to expire, he could not favor him more effectually, than by hastening his trial, and by not leaving him in the power of a successor, who might not be equally disposed in his favor. Such were the loose and popular notions of justice then prevailing at Rome³.

Lex Manilia.

² Dio Cass. lib. xxxvi.

³ Plutarch, in Vit. Cicer.

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At the election of Consuls for the following year, there occurred an opportunity to apply the law against bribery. Of four candidates, Publius Autronius Pætus, Publius Cornelius Sylla, L. Aurelius Cotta, and L. Manlius Torquatus, the majority had declared for the former two; but these being convicted of bribery, were set aside, and their competitors declared duly elected.

About the same time L. Sergius Catalina, who has been already mentioned as one of the most violent executioners of Sylla's proscriptions, having returned from Africa, where he had served in the capacity of Prætor, and intending to stand for the Consulship, was accused of extortion in his province, and stopped in his canvass by a prosecution raised on this account. In his rage for this disappointment, he was ripe for any disorder; and, being readily joined by Autronius and Piso, formed a conspiracy to assassinate their rivals*, to massacre the Senate, to seize the ensigns of power, and, with the aid of their faction, to lay hold of the government'. Julius Cæsar and Crassus are mentioned by Suetonius as accomplices in this plot. Crassus was to have been named Dictator, and Cæsar his general of the horse'. Cæsar was to have given the signal for the execution of the massacre, by uncovering his shoulders of his gown; but Crassus having relented,

* Dion. lib. xxxvi.

' Cic. in Catal. i. c. 6.

' Sueton. in Cæsar.

absented himself from the Senate on the day appointed, and Cæsar, though present, omitted to give the signal, by which means the whole was disconcerted. Sylla was tried some years after as an accessory, and was defended by Cicero. CHAP.
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Many of those who, by their birth and distinction, were destined to run the career of political honors, found their fortunes by the extravagant expence of public shows, and of gratuities to the People, by bribes to private persons, as well as by their own debauchery and prodigality, ruined before they attained their end. They sought to repair their ruin by any unwarrantable means⁷, and were ready to engage in any dangerous design. The State appears to have apprehended an increase of this danger from the number of foreigners, who, from every quarter, crowded to Rome as to the general resort of persons who wished to gratify their own extravagance, or to prey upon that of others. Under this apprehension, an edict was obtained, upon the motion of C. Papius, Tribune of the People, to oblige all strangers to leave the city: but it is likely, that the state was in greater danger from natives than foreigners. Cataline, having prevailed upon Clodius, by the consideration of a sum of money, to drop the prosecution, which had been intended against him, was left to offer himself a candidate for the Consulate of the following year⁸.

Lex Papia
de peregrinis.

⁷ Plutarch, in Vit. Ciceronis.

⁸ Cicero de Haruspicum Responsis.

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The office of Cenfor had been revived in the persons of Catulus and Crassus ; but these officers found that its authority, so powerful in former times, was now of little effect. They scarcely ventured to give it a trial within the city ; and, having differed about the enrolment of citizens residing beyond the Po, and about some other particulars, they resigned their power⁹. Cenfors were again named in the following year, but with no greater effect ; some of the Tribunes, fearing to be degraded from the Senate, forbade them to proceed in making up the roll¹⁰.

U. C. 689.

C. J. Cæsar,
C. Mar. Fi-
gulus.

In the next Consulate, Caius Julius Cæsar, at this time thirty-five years of age, entered on his career of popularity and ambition. Being Ædile, together with Marcus Bibulus, he not only concurred with his colleague in all the expensive shows that were given to the People, but gave separate entertainments on his own account. The multitudes of gladiators he had assembled on this occasion gave an alarm to the magistracy, and he was ordered not to exceed a certain number. In the administration of his office as Prætor, he took some steps that were likely to revive the animosity of the late parties of Marius and Sylla ; and, notwithstanding the act of indemnity which had passed, raised prosecutions on a charge of assassination, against all those who had put

⁹ Dion. lib. xxxvi. Plutarch, in Crasso.

¹⁰ Ibid. Plut.

any citizen to death in execution of Sylla's proscription¹¹. From this time Suetonius observes, that Cicero dated the beginning of Cæsar's project to subvert the republic, and to make himself master of the State¹².

What has most distinguished this Consulate, however, is the competition of candidates for the succession of that office on the following year, and the consequences of the election which followed. The candidates were M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius, son of the late celebrated orator, L. Sergius Catalina, P. Sulpicius Galba, and L. Cassius Longinus, Quintus Cornificius, and Licinius Sacerdos.

Cicero was the first of his family who had ever resided, or enjoyed any honors, at Rome. He was a native of Arpinum, a country-town of Italy, and was considered as an obscure person by those who were descended of ancient families, but had great consideration on account of his eloquence and the consequences of it, to all such as had any interests at stake before the tribunals of justice. Being solicited by Cataline to undertake his defence on a trial for malversation in Sicily, he did not at once reject the request, nor always deny his aid to the factious Tribunes in support of their measures. He was undoubtedly,

¹¹ Sueton. in Vit. C. J. Cæsar. I

¹² Ibid. c. ix, Suetonius supposes, that Cicero alluded to the conspiracy of Autronius and Sylla, in which Crassus, as well as Cæsar, was said to be engaged.

BOOK like other ambitious men at Rome, disposed to
III. court every party, and willing to gain individuals²³; and had of late, in particular, considerably strengthened his interest, by having supported the pretensions of Pompey, and by having joined the popular Tribunes, in what they proposed in behalf of that officer. He was, notwithstanding, probably by his aversion to appear for so bad a client as Cataline, saved from the reproach of having espoused his cause; and by his known inclination in general to support the authority of the Senate, he disposed the aristocratical party to forgive the occasional part which he took with the Tribunes in particular questions, not immediately supposed to affect their government.

In the course of this competition for the Consulship, Antonius and Cataline joined interests together, and spared no kind or degree of corruption. Cicero complained of their practices in the Senate, and moved to revive the law of Calpurnius against bribery, with an additional penalty of ten years banishment²⁴. Cataline considered this measure as levelled against himself; and incited by this provocation, as well as by the animosity of a rival, was then supposed to have formed a design against Cicero's life, and to have expressed himself to this purpose, in terms that gave a general alarm to the electors, and

²³ Ep. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 2.

²⁴ Dio, lib. xxxvii. c. 39.

determined great numbers against himself. He had drawn to his interests many persons of infamous character and desperate fortune, many youths of good family, whom he debauched or encouraged in their profligacy. His language, at their meetings, was full of indignation at the unequal and supposed unjust distribution of fortune and power. "All the wealth of the State, all authority," he said, "is engrossed by a few, while others of more merit are kept in poverty and obscurity, and oppressed with debts." He professed his intention, when in office, to remove these grievances, to cancel the debts of his friends, to enrich them by plentiful divisions of land, and to place them in the highest stations.

These declarations, being made to a numerous meeting, were ill concealed. Curius, one of the faction, boasted to Fulvia, a woman of rank, with whom he had a criminal correspondence, that a revolution must soon take place, and specified the particular hopes and designs of their party. This woman mentioned the subject to her own confidants, but concealed the author of her information. In the mean time, Cataline was considered as a person of the most dangerous designs, and was opposed in his election by all who had any regard to public order, or to the safety of the commonwealth. Cicero, at the same time, being supported by the Senate, was elected, together with Caius Antonius. The latter stood candidate upon the same interest with Cataline, and was preferred to him only by a small majority.

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U. C. 690.

M. Tullius

Cicero, C.

Antonius.

By this event the designs of Cataline were supposed to be frustrated; but the Consuls were not likely to enter on a quiet administration. The Tribunitian power, from the time of its restoration, was gradually recovering its force, and extending its operations. Every person that could give any public disturbance, that could annoy the Senate, or mortify any of its leading members; every one that had views of ambition adverse to the laws, or who wished to take part in scenes of confusion and tumult; every person oppressed with debt, who wished to defraud his creditors; every person who, by his profligacy or crimes, was at variance with the tribunals of justice, was comprehended under the general denomination of the popular party. The Roman People had once been divided into Patrician and Plebeian, next into Noblemen and Commoners; but now they took sides with little regard to former distinctions against or for the preservation of public order. In the assembly of the centuries, as well as in that of the Tribes, the disorderly and the profligate began to prevail; and as it was impossible that the collective body of the people could meet, the comitia, for the most part, was but another name for such riotous assemblies, as were made up of the persons who haunted the streets of Rome. The minds of sober men were full of fear and distrust, alarmed with surmises of plots, and various combinations of desperate persons, who united their influence, not to carry elections or attain to preferments, but to

overturn the government, or to share in its spoils¹⁵. C H A P. III.

One of the Tribunes of the present year, Servilius Rullus, soon after his admission into office, under pretence of providing settlements for many of the citizens, promulgated the heads of an Agrarian Law, which he carried to the Senate and the People. The subject of former grants was now in a great measure exhausted, and all Italy was inhabited by Roman citizens. This Tribune proposed a new expedient to open settlements for the indigent, not by conquest, but by purchase. It was proposed, that all estates, territories, or possessions of any sort, which belonged to the republic, should be sold; that all acquisitions of territory recently made, and the spoils taken from any enemy, should be disposed of in the same manner; that the money arising from such sales should be employed in purchasing arable and cultivable lands, to be assigned in lots to the needy citizens; and that, to carry this law into execution, ten commissioners should be named in the same manner in which the Pontiffs were named, not by the whole People, but by seventeen of the Tribes selected by lot: that these commissioners should be judges, without appeal, of what was or was not public property; of what was to be sold, of what was to be bought, and at what price; that they were to receive and judge of the accounts of every Consul,

Lex Servilia
Agrar.

¹⁵ Cicero de Lege Agraria.

B O O K or other officer, except Pompey, commanding in
III. any province, where any capture was made, or new territory acquired: and in short, that they should, during five years, which was the intended term of their commission, be the sole masters of all property within the empire, whether public or private.

On the day that the new Consuls entered on their office, when they returned in procession from the Capitol, and gave the first meeting to the Senate, Rullus had the presumption to propose this law, and to move the Conscript Fathers, that they would be pleased to give it the sanction of their approbation and authority in being carried to the People. Upon this occasion, Cicero made his first speech in the character of Consul. The former part of it is lost; the remainder may be reckoned among the highest specimens of his eloquence. In this and the two speeches he delivered to the People, on the same subject, he endeavoured to demonstrate (if we may venture to imitate his own expressions) that, from the first clause of this law to the last, there was nothing thought of, nothing proposed, nothing done but the erecting, in ten persons, under the pretence of an Agrarian Law, an absolute sovereignty over the treasury, the revenue, the provinces, the empire, the neighbouring kingdoms and states; and, in short, over all the world as far as it was known to the Romans. He painted in such lively colors the abuses which might be committed by Rullus, and by his associates in judging what was private

and what public property, in making sales, in making purchases, in planting the colonies; and so exposed the impudence of the cheat, by which it was proposed to surprise the people into the granting of such powers, the absurdity and the ruinous tendency of the whole measure, that it was instantly rejected, and its author hissed from the assembly, and treated as an object of ridicule and scorn.

The splendor of the Consul's eloquence, on this occasion, appeared with great distinction, and the spirit of the times continued to furnish him with opportunities to display it¹⁶. Roscius Amerinus, having been Tribune of the People a few years before, had, by the authority of his office, set apart some benches in the theatre for the Equestrian order. This gave offence to the People, so that Roscius was commonly hissed when he appeared at any of the public assemblies. On some one of these occasions the Consul interposed; and, in a popular harangue, secured the attachment of the Knights to himself, and reconciled the People to the distinction which had been made in favor of that body.

There happened under the same Consulship a business of greater difficulty, being a motion to restore the sons of the proscribed to the privilege of being chosen into the offices of State, of which

¹⁶ It is probable that Cicero did not write in order to speak, but wrote after he had spoken, for the use of his friends. Epist. ad Atticum, lib. ii. c. 1.

BOOK III. they had been deprived by an ordinance of Sylla. Their fate was undoubtedly calamitous and severe. Many of them who had been too young to have incurred the guilt of their party, were now come of age, and found themselves stripped of their birthright, and stigmatized with this mark of dishonor. It was proposed, in their behalf, to take away this cruel exclusion. But Cicero, apprehending that this proposal tended to arm and to strengthen persons, who, from long use, had contracted an habitual disaffection to the established government, powerfully opposed the motion, and succeeded in having it rejected¹⁷.

Though the orations on the two subjects last mentioned have perished, great part of that which he spoke on the trial of C. Rabirius still remains. This man, of a great age, a respectable Senator, at the distance of six-and-thirty years, was brought to trial as an accomplice in the death of Apuleius Saturninus, the factious Tribune, who, as has been related, having seized the Capitol, was, by the Consuls Marius and Valerius Flaccus, acting under the authority of the Senate, and attended by all the most respectable citizens in arms, forced from his strong hold, and put to death as a public enemy.

Titus Atius Labienus, one of the Tribunes, was the declared prosecutor of C. Rabirius; but historians agree, that this Tribune acted at the

¹⁷ Plin. lib. vii. c. 30.

instigation, and under the direction, of C. Julius Cæsar. The intention of the popular party was, by making an example of this respectable person in so strong a case where the authority of the Senate, and the commands of the most popular Consul, where even the proscription of so old a date should have repelled every danger, effectually, for the future, to deter every person from acting in support of the Senate, or from opposing force to the designs of factious Tribunes, however turbulent or dangerous.

The Senate, and all the friends of government, were greatly alarmed, and united in defence of Rabirius. The popular party, as already described, the ambitious, the profligate, the bankrupt, who were earnest to weaken the hands of government, and in haste to bring on scenes of confusion and trouble, took the opposite side.

The prosecutor laid his charge for treason of the most heinous kind, and destined the accused to die on the cross, the ordinary manner of executing the sentence of death on slaves. "The executioner stalks in the Forum," said Cicero, "and the cross is erected for a Roman citizen in the field of Mars." The accusation was first brought before the Prætor, who possessed the ordinary jurisdiction in such cases. This magistrate empannelled two judges, who were to determine in this mighty cause. These were Caius Julius and Lucius Cæsar. At this court the defendant was condemned; and with appearances of

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animosity, on the part of Caius Cæsar, that greatly increased the alarm. This rising citizen had always courted the populace, and was strongly supported by them. That he should aim at honors and power, it was said, is common; but that he wished to provide impunity for the disturbers of the commonwealth, was alarming. The crime of Rabirius, even if he could be convicted of it, had been committed the year before Cæsar was born. In the person of the accused every circumstance, even on the supposition of a true charge, pleaded for compassion, and even for respect: the fact, at the same time, was denied, and a positive evidence was brought, that another had received a reward for killing Saturninus: but the policy of the faction required this victim; and the sentence must have been executed, if the condemned had not fled, by appeal, to the judgment of the People, where indeed his cause might be reckoned more desperate than if it had been before a select court. The parties attended this trial with great ardor. Hortensius conducted the appeal and defence. Cicero pleaded in behalf of justice and government; painted the age, the infirmities, the forlorn state of the defendant, who had survived his relations and his friends. He pointed out the danger to government and to order from this precedent, in terms that must have melted every heart, not callous from ambition, faction, or profligacy of manners: but in vain. Even in the assembly of the Centuries, the majority was

hastening to affirm the sentence, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, then Prætor, and one of the Augurs, hastened to the Janiculum, and tore down the ensign which was planted there as a sign of peace. A silly piece of superstition stopt the proceedings of those whom neither justice nor compassion nor regard to government, could restrain.

It was established, as has been formerly noticed¹⁸, that the assembly of the Centuries could not proceed without this signal in view. In the first ages of Rome, the enemy were always at the gate. While the people were assembled in the field on one side of the city, they were in danger of being assailed on the other. When they assembled, therefore, in the field of Mars, a guard was always posted on the Janiculum, and an ensign displayed. If any enemy appeared, the ensign was taken down, the assembly dismissed, and the People took to their arms. This ceremony, like many other customs both of superstition and law, remained after the occasion had ceased; and it was held illegal or impious in the People to proceed in any affair without the ensign in view. By this means the trial was put off, and the prosecutors, despairing of being able to work up the People again into an equal degree of violence, dropt the prosecution. The cause still remained undecided, and the power of the Senate,

¹⁸ See book i. c. i.

BOOK to defend its own authority, continued in a state
 III. of suspense.

The Tribune Labienus laid aside thoughts of renewing the prosecution, in order to pursue the object of some other popular acts; one in particular, to repeal the almost only remaining ordinance of Sylla; that which related to the election of priests. The right of election was again taken from the college, and, according to the law of Domitius, given to seventeen of the Tribes that were to be drawn by lot. This change was intended to open the way of Caius Julius Cæsar into that office; and he was accordingly promoted to it in the following year.

Others of the Tribunes likewise endeavoured to distinguish themselves by acts of turbulence and sedition. Metellus Nepos endeavoured to repeal that clause of the act against bribery and corruption, which declared the party convicted to be disqualified for any of the offices of State. This Tribune, though sufficiently disposed to disorderly courses, had many connexions among the most respectable citizens, and was persuaded, in this instance, to drop his design.

But among the several confederacies into which the popular party was divided, none was more desperate, nor supposed more dangerous, than that of Cataline, the late disappointed candidate for the Consulship. His rival Cicero had intimation, before the elections, of a design formed by this desperate faction against his own person, and still continued to observe them. He entered

into a correspondence with Fulvia, who had given the first hints of a dangerous conspiracy; and, by means of this woman, procured the confidence of Curius, who gave him minute information of all the proceedings of the party.

In public, Cataline again professed himself a candidate for the office of Consul, in competition with Servius Sulpicius, P. Muræna, and J. Silanus. He boasted of support from Antonius; but Cicero, to divert his colleague from this dangerous connexion, made him every concession. Having, in drawing lots for the provinces of Gaul and Macedonia, drawn the latter, which was thought to be preferable, he yielded it up to Antonius; and by this, and every other means in his power, persuaded him to value the secure possession of dignities and honors, lawfully obtained, in preference to expectations formed on the projects of a few desperate men.

In secret, Cataline encouraged his adherents by professing to have many resources, and to be supported by numbers who were ready to take arms at his command. In a numerous meeting of his party in October, a few days before the Consular elections, he opened the whole of his design; and in the speech which he made on that occasion, is said to have used expressions to the following purpose: "The distressed can
" rely for relief only on those who have a com-
" mon cause with themselves. Whoever, in his
" own fortune, is at ease, will not regard the
" misery of others. If you would know how I

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“ stand affected to the parties which now divide
 “ the commonwealth, *rich creditors*, and *needy*
 “ *debtors*, recollect what every one knows, that
 “ I have no safety but in the destruction of the
 “ one, and in the relief of the other: that my
 “ interest is the same with yours, and that I have
 “ courage to attempt what may be necessary for
 “ your benefit.”

From the strain of this passage, the description of a party to whom it was with propriety addressed, may be easily collected. Cicero, who had frequently taxed Cataline with dangerous designs, now determined to lay the whole of his intelligence before the Senate; and for this purpose deferred the Consular elections, which were to have been held on the eighteenth of October, to a future day, and assembled the Senate. Cataline having, with the other members, attended, and hearing the charge, did not pretend to deny or to palliate his words. “ There are, he said, “ in this republic two parties; one weak both “ in its members and head; the other strong in “ its members, but wanting a head: while I “ have the honor of being supported by this “ party, it shall have a head.” Upon these words a general cry of indignation arose in the Senate; but no resolution was taken. Many, who were there present as members, were pleased to see the Senate itself insulted; and Cataline, as if in condition to brave all his enemies, was, in all his expressions, equally unguarded in the streets and in the Senate. To Cato, who, in the

public Forum, some days before this meeting, CHAP.
had threatened him with a prosecution: Do," III.
he said; "but if you light a flame in my for-
" tunes, I will extinguish it under the ruins of
" the commonwealth¹⁹."

A prosecution was actually raised against him in the name of Lucius Paulus, a young man of distinction, for carrying arms against the public peace. On this occasion, however, he thought proper to dissemble his thoughts, and offered to commit his person to custody till his innocence should appear. "No one," he said, "who
" knows my rank, my pretensions, and the in-
" terest I have in the preservation of the com-
" monwealth, will believe, that its destruction
" is to be apprehended from me, and that its
" safety is to come from a native of Arpinum²⁰."
He offered to commit himself to the custody of Cicero, of Metellus, or of any other magistrate, till this injurious aspersions were removed. To this offer the Consul replied, That he who did not think himself safe within the same ramparts with Cataline, would not receive him into his house²¹.

By one effect of the unparalleled freedom now enjoyed by Roman citizens, persons accused of the most dangerous crimes were at liberty, during the dependance of their trial, either to proceed

¹⁹ Cicero Orat. pro Muræna.

²⁰ The town of which Cicero was native.

²¹ Cicero in Catalinam, i. c. 8.

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in perpetrating their crime, or to withdraw from justice. This effect was derived from the laws of Valerius and Porcius, which secured against violence, or the power of the magistrate, the person of every citizen, until he were finally condemned by the People. In support of this privilege, which was salutary, when the abuse of power in the magistrate was to be dreaded more than the licence of crimes in the subject, the Romans persisted even after vice was become too strong for the laws, and when exemption from every just restraint was fatally mistaken for liberty. The State had now been thrown, on many occasions, into the most violent convulsions, because there was no ordinary or regular method of preventing disorders, or of suppressing them on their first appearance.

Cataline, soon after the elections, at which, by the preference given to Muræna and Silanus, he received a fresh disappointment in his hopes of the Consulship, sent Mallius, or Manlius, an experienced soldier, who had served with himself under Sylla, to prepare for an insurrection in the district of Etruria. This officer, in the end of October, under pretence of giving refuge to debtors from the oppression of their creditors, had actually assembled a considerable body of men²². Accounts at the same time were received, that Publius Sylla was making a large purchase of gladiators at Capua, and insurrections were

²² Cicero in Catalinam, i. c. 3.

were accordingly apprehended on the side of Campania and Apulia. In this state of affairs continual informations being brought of Cataline's designs, the Senate gave in charge to the Consuls to watch over the safety of the State; and these officers accordingly put chosen bodies of men under arms, and secured all the posts of consequence in the city. Metellus, the conqueror of Crete, who still remained without the walls in hopes of a triumph, was appointed to command on the side of Apulia. The Prætor Metellus Celer was sent into Cisalpine Gaul, in order to secure the peace of that province²³; and the Consul Antonius was destined to suppress the insurrection of Mallius at Fæsulæ²⁴.

Cataline mean while remained in the city, and had frequent consultations for the preparation and the execution of his plot. At a meeting of the party, held in the beginning of November, in the house of M. Porcius²⁵, a general massacre of the principal Senators was projected. The conspirators severally chose their stations, and undertook their several parts. Two in particular, who were familiar in Cicero's house, undertook next morning, under pretence of a visit, to surprise and assassinate the Consul. But he being the same night apprized of his danger by Fulvia, gave the proper orders, and the intended

²³ Cicero in Cat. i. c. 12.

²⁴ Now Florence.

²⁵ Cicero pro Pub. Sylla, c. 16.

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 III. murderers, upon their appearance at his door, were refused admittance. He immediately after assembled the Senate in the temple of Jupiter. Cataline presented himself with his usual presumption; and Cicero, as appears from an oration which he then delivered, instead of laying the matter in form before the Senate, accosted Cataline in a vehement invective, urging him to be gone from the city, where all his steps were minutely observed, where his meaning was understood, and precautions taken against all his designs. “I told you,” said the Consul, “that your
 “emissary Mallius would be in arms by the
 “first of November; that you intended a massacre of the Senators about the same time. I
 “now repeat the memorable words you made
 “use of when you were told, that many of the
 “Senators had withdrawn from the city. You
 “should be satisfied, you said, with the blood
 “of those who remained. Were you not surrounded, hemmed in, and beset on every side
 “by the guards posted to watch you? Did your
 “intention to surprise Præneste, on the night of
 “the first of November, escape me? Did you
 “not find precautions taken that argued a knowledge of your design? There is nothing, in
 “short, that you do, that you prepare, that you
 “meditate, which is not heard, which is not
 “seen, which is not felt by me in every circumstance. What of last night? Were you not
 “at the house of Pocius Lecca? Deny it! I
 “have evidence. There are here present persons

“ who were of your company. But where are
 “ we? What manner of government or republic
 “ is this? The enemies and destroyers of the
 “ commonwealth make a part in its highest
 “ councils! We know them, and yet they are
 “ suffered to live! But, be gone. The time of
 “ enduring you is past. The world is convinced
 “ of your guilt. Stay only till there is not a
 “ single person that can pretend to doubt of it;
 “ till your own partisans must be silent, and till
 “ the clamor, which they would willingly raise
 “ against every necessary act of government, be
 “ suppressed.”

This being the general tendency of the Con-
 sul's speech, fraught with such alarming matter,
 and urged with so much confidence, the audi-
 ence was seized with terror, and numbers, who
 happened to be on the same bench with Cataline,
 withdrew from his side. He himself arose, and
 attempted to vindicate his character, but was
 silenced with a general cry of indignation; upon
 which he left the Senate; and, after concerting
 farther measures with those of his party, not
 thinking that a longer stay in the city could be
 of any use to his affairs, he withdrew in the
 night, leaving letters behind him to some of the
 Senators, in which he complained, that, by a
 combination of his enemies, he was driven into
 exile; and that, rather than be the occasion of
 any disturbance in the commonwealth, he was
 willing to retire. While these letters were handed

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about in the city, he took his way, preceded by the ushers and ensigns of a Roman Proconsul, strait for the camp of Mallius, and entered into a state of open war. The features of this man's portrait are probably exaggerated by the vehement pencils and lively colorings of Cicero and of Sallust. He is represented as able to endure hardships of any kind, and as fearless in any danger; as, from his youth, fond of discord, assassinations, and bloodshed; as having, under pretence of Sylla's proscription, murdered his own brother to possess his estate; as having murdered his own child, to remove the objection made to him by a woman who refused to marry him with the prospect of being a step-mother. He is represented as rapacious, prodigal, gloomy, impetuous, unquiet, dissembling, and perfidious; a description, of which the horrors are probably amplified: but for which it cannot be doubted there was much foundation, as he far exceeded in profligacy and desperation all those who, either in this or the former age, were, by their ambition or their vices, hastening the ruin of the commonwealth.

Cicero always professed to have particular intelligence of the progress of Cataline. This, according to Sallust, he owed to Fulvia, by whose means he obtained a correspondence with Curius; but he himself, in none of his orations, gives any intimation of the manner in which he obtained his information. It is probable that Curius insisted on being concealed, that he might not

be exposed to the rage of the conspirators as an informer and a traitor. On this account the Consul, although he was minutely apprized of particulars, was obliged to adopt the plan he hitherto followed, to urge the conspirators into open hostilities, and into a full declaration of their purpose. He had succeeded with respect to Cataline; but his accomplices were yet very numerous in the city, and were taking their measures to co-operate with those who were in arms.

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In this state of affairs Fabius Sanga, a Roman citizen of distinction, came to the Consul, and informed him, that the ambassadors of the Allobroges, a people then inhabiting what is now called the territory of Geneva, and part of Savoy, whose patron he was, had made him privy to a very momentous affair; that, upon being disappointed in a suit, on which they had been employed to the Senate, they had been carried by P. Umbrenus to Publius Cornelius Lentulus the Prætor, who condoled with them on the subject of the wrong they had received, assured them of redress if they would merit the favor of a party that was soon to have the ascendant at Rome; and proposed, that they should immediately, upon their return to their own country, prevail on their nation to march an army, for this purpose, into Italy. Cicero immediately laid hold of this intelligence, as affording means to bring the plot to light, and furnish a sufficient evidence to convict the conspirators. He desired Sanga to encourage the correspondence, to

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advise the ambassadors to insist on proper credentials to be shown to their countrymen, to procure a list of the Roman citizens, who, in case they should rise in rebellion against the Romans, were to become bound to protect them; and when they should be thus provided, and about to depart, he instructed Sanga to bring him intimation of their motions, that they might be secured, with their writings, and other evidence of the facts to be ascertained. Sanga, having instructed the ambassadors accordingly, gave notice of their motions to the Consul. In the evening before they were to depart, Cicero ordered the Prætors, L. Flaccus and C. Pontinus, to march by different ways, and in small parties, after it was dark, a sufficient armed force to intercept the ambassadors of the Allobroges. The parties were stationed on different sides of the river, at the bridge called Milvius, without knowing of each other, and without having any suspicion of the purpose for which they were placed, farther than arose from their having been told, that they were to seize any person who should attempt to pass. About three o'clock in the morning the ambassadors entered on the bridge with a numerous retinue; and being challenged, and commanded to stop by the party that was placed to intercept them, they endeavoured to force their way; and some blood was shed. But on the appearance of the Prætors, with their ensigns of office, the ambassadors ceased to resist. Their dispatches were secured. Vulturcius, a Roman

citizen, who was found in their company, was taken and searched. Letters were found upon him, in different hands, and under different seals, addressed to Cataline. These, together with the prisoners, were immediately carried back to the city.

The Consul being apprized of the success which attended this part of his design, sent, before any alarm could be taken by the party, messages to Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus, desiring to see them at his own house. The three former came with the messenger; but Lentulus was newly gone to bed, and, by his delay, gave some cause to suspect that he was aware of his danger. He too, however, came; and the house of Cicero was presently crowded, not only with numbers of the Equestrian order that were in arms for the defence of his person, but likewise with many senators whom he desired to be present. The ambassadors of the Allobroges, now prisoners, were likewise conducted thither, and the letters found upon them were produced unopened. Cicero declared his intention to assemble the Senate without delay, in order to lay the whole matter before them. Many of the company were of opinion, that the letters should be first opened, in order to see, whether they contained any matter of so much moment, as to require assembling the Senate, at a time when so great an alarm was likely to be taken. Cicero, however, having no doubt of the contents of the letters, and of the importance of the matter,

B O O K over-ruled those scruples, and the Senate was
 III. accordingly called. Mean time the Allobroges dropt some expressions which implied, that arms were concealed in the house of Cethegus. This occasioned a search being then made, and a considerable quantity of daggers and swords were accordingly found.

At the meeting of the Senate, Vulturcius was first examined; he denied his knowledge of any treasonable designs, but appeared disconcerted; and, upon being reminded of the reward that had been offered for the discovery of any plot against the State, and of the danger to which he himself would be exposed in prevaricating, he confessed, that the letters seized in his custody were sent by the Prætor Lentulus and others: that he had besides a verbal message to Cataline, informing him, that the plan was now ready for execution; that the station of every person was assigned; that some were appointed to set fire to the city in different places, and some to massacre their enemies in the midst of the confusion that was likely to be occasioned by the fire; and desiring that Cataline, in order to support his friends, and to profit by the diversion they were to make in his favor within the walls, should issue a proclamation to arm the slaves, and that he himself should march directly to Rome.

The deputies of the Allobroges being next introduced, acknowledged, that they had been charged by Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, with assurances of support to the council

of their nation, confirmed by oath, accompanied with directions, without delay, to march a body of horse into Italy, where they should be joined by a numerous infantry, and receive proper directions in what manner they should farther proceed: that, to encourage them, Lentulus quoted a prophecy, found in the collection of the Sybils, by which he himself was pointed out as the third of the Cornelii²⁶ destined to arrive at the sovereignty of Rome: that the conspirators had differed about the time of executing their design. Lentulus was of opinion it should be deferred to the holy-days in December; that Cethegus, notwithstanding, and the others, were impatient, and desired a nearer day.

The supposed conspirators were next called in their turns; and the letters, with the seals unbroken, were exhibited before them. Cethegus, being the first examined, persisted in denying his knowledge of any conspiracy; accounted for the arms that were found in his house, by saying, He was curious of workmanship of that nature, and always bought what he liked. He maintained his countenance well, till his letter was produced, and then fell into great confusion, as the seal was immediately known to be his.

Lentulus next, with great confidence, denied the charge; affected not to know either Vulturcius or the ambassadors; asked them upon what occasion they ever could pretend to have been

²⁶ The former two were Cinna and Sylla.

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admitted into his house? He, however, owned the seal affixed to the letter that was now produced against him. It was the head of his grandfather. But the letter being opened, was found to be unsigned, and in the following general terms: "The bearer will inform you who
" I am. Fear nothing. Remember where you
" stand; and neglect nothing. Call in every aid,
" even the meanest." While he persisted in his denial, some one asked him, if he had never quoted the Sybilline oracles to those Gauls? Confounded with this question, he forgot his disguise, and confessed.

Gabinus too was at last brought to own his guilt; and in this manner the conspiracy was fully laid open. L. Julius Cæsar, the Consul of the former year, in the presence of Lentulus, who was married to his sister, gave his opinion, that this unhappy man should be immediately put to death. "This," he said, "is no unprecedented measure. My grandfather, Fulvius Flaccus, was slain by order of the Consul
" Gabinus. His son was taken into custody
" and put to death in prison." In the meantime Lentulus was ordered to divest himself of the office of Prætor, and, together with his accomplices, was committed to close imprisonment. This Cornelius Lentulus was distinguished by the name of Sura. He had been Consul about eight years before, and was afterwards, for his debaucheries, struck off the rolls of the Senate. He had now again condescended to accept of the

office of Prætor, in order to recover, in the capacity of a magistrate, his seat in the Senate. C H A P.
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A proclamation was issued to apprehend M. Cæparius, who had been sent to raise an insurrection in Apulia, together with P. Furius, Magius Chilo, and P. Umbrenus, who had first introduced the Gaulish ambassadors to Gabinius. The Senate voted thanks to the Consul Cicero for his great vigilance, and for the consummate ability he had shown in the discovery and suppression of this treasonable design; to the Prætors, for the faithful execution of the Consul's orders; and to Antonius, his colleague, for having detached himself from men with whom he was known to have been formerly connected. A public thanksgiving to the gods was likewise decreed in honor of the Consul, and in consideration of this deliverance of the city from fire, of the people from massacre, and of Italy from devastation and war.

An assembly of the People being called, Cicero gave this account of the proceedings in a speech which is still extant²⁷, and early on the following day assembled the Senate to deliberate on the farther resolutions to be taken with respect to the prisoners. An agent had been busy in the night to raise some disturbance in favor of Lentulus; but the design of setting fire to the city struck the people in general with so much horror, that not only such as were possessed of

²⁷ In Cat. 3.

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property, but every inhabitant, trembled for his own person, and for the safety of his house. The avenues to the Senate, the Capitol, the Forum, all the Temples in the neighbourhood, by break of day, were crowded with armed men. The Consul had summoned the equestrian order in arms to protect the Senate, and citizens of every rank came forth to strengthen the hands of the magistrates.

When the Senate met, the members differed in their judgment. Junius Silanus, one of the Consuls elect, being called up first in order, declared himself for a sentence of death. Tiberius Nero differed from him, and proposed perpetual imprisonment. The majority, however, joined Silanus, until Caius Julius Cæsar spoke. This able advocate declared against the opinion of Silanus, not as too severe, but as contrary to law; and insisted on the danger of a precedent which might set the life of every citizen at the mercy of a vote in the Senate. Death, he said, was the common destination of all men; what no one could avoid, and what the wise frequently coveted. It was not, therefore, a punishment; and he did not propose to mitigate, but to increase, the severity of the sentence in this case. He proposed, therefore, that the estates of the prisoners should be confiscated; that their persons should be committed for life to the keeping of the most secure and best affected towns in Italy; and that it should be declared treason for any one hereafter to move the Senate or the People for any mitigation of their punishment.

Cæsar might be considered as uttering what the popular faction were to urge, and as laying the ground upon which the proceedings of the Senate, and the conduct of each particular member, might be afterwards arraigned before the People. The terrors of the Porcian and Sempronian laws, when likely to be urged by so powerful an advocate, alarmed the greater part of the Senate. Silanus is said to have retracted his opinion. The Consul submitted the question to the judgment of the Senate, and declared his willingness to execute any decree they should form. He treated Cæsar with great respect, and laid hold of the severe terms in which he spoke of the conspiracy, as a pledge of his future conduct, in case the proceedings of government, with respect to the matter now before them, should hereafter be questioned or brought under review. “The Senate,” he observed, “had no cause to dread the imputation of cruelty. It was mercy to prevent, in the most effectual manner, a crime to be perpetrated in so much blood. If this crime were not prevented, they were to see that city, the resort of nations, and the light and ornament of empire, perish at one blow. They were to see heaps of her citizens unburied, and lying in their blood: to see the fury of Cethegus let loose in murder; to see Lentulus become a king, Cataline commanding an army, and every where to hear the cries of mothers, to see the flight of children, and the rape of virgins. — If the father of a family,” he continued,

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“ should spare a slave who had shed the blood
 “ of his children, who had murdered his wife,
 “ and set fire to his dwelling, how should such
 “ a father be considered — as cruel, or as void of
 “ affection?

“ He desired them not to regard what was
 “ given out, of their not being in condition to
 “ attempt any thing vigorous against these men.
 “ He himself, as first magistrate, had not neglected
 “ the necessary precautions; and the general ardor
 “ with which all ranks of men concurred in the
 “ defence of their families, their properties, and
 “ the seat of empire, rendered every resolution
 “ they could take secure of the utmost effect.
 “ The forum is full, all the temples in its neigh-
 “ bourhood are full, all the streets and avenues
 “ to this place of assembly are full of citizens of
 “ every denomination, armed for the defence of
 “ their country. He requested that the Senate
 “ would issue their orders before the sun went
 “ down, and seemed to apprehend dangerous conse-
 “ quences, if these matters were left undetermined,
 “ and the city exposed to the accidents of the
 “ following night. For himself, he professed to
 “ have taken his resolution. Although he felt the
 “ occasion full of personal danger, he would
 “ execute the orders of the conscript fathers,”
 he said; “ but, if he fell in the attempt,
 “ implored their protection for his wife and his
 “ children”.

” Cicero in Catalinam, Orat. iv.

All this appears to have passed in debate before Cato spoke. This virtuous citizen, then about thirty-three years of age, had, in the former part of his life, taken a very different course from the youths of his own time, and, both by his temper and education, was averse to the libertine principles which had crept into the politics and the manners of the age. He spoke chiefly in answer to Caius Cæsar, who, he observed, seemed to mistake the question. "We are not inquiring," he said, "what is the proper punishment of a crime already committed, but how we may defend the republic from an imminent danger with which it is threatened. It is proposed to send the prisoners to safe keeping in the country. Why into the country? Because perhaps the faction of profligate citizens is more numerous in Rome, and may rescue them. Is Rome the only place to which profligate men may resort, or are prisoners of State most secure where the force of government is least? This proposal is surely an idle one, if the author of it professes to entertain any fear of these men. But if, in this general alarm of all the city, he and such persons be not afraid, so much the more cause have we to be upon our guard. We are beset with enemies, both within and without the walls. While Cataline with fire and sword is hastening to your gates, you hesitate, whether you will cut off or spare his associates, that are taken with the torch in their hands and the dagger at your breast! You must strike those

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“ who are now in your power, if you mean to
 “ intimidate those who are coming to support
 “ their designs. The remissness or the vigor which
 “ you now show will be felt in the camp of
 “ Cataline, and will be attended with suitable
 “ effects. I am therefore of opinion, that we order
 “ these men, agreeably to the practice which
 “ our ancestors followed in all cases of treason
 “ and of open war against the commonwealth, to
 “ immediate death.”

Such is said to have been the speech of Cato, by which the Senate was determined in the very momentous resolution which was taken on the present occasion; and however little we may be inclined to consider such compositions in many parts of ancient history as records of fact, much credit is due to this representation, as it is given by a person who himself became a partisan of Cæsar, and as the speech itself must have been offered to the perusal of many who were present at the delivery of it ²⁹. The execution of the prisoners was accordingly determined, and Cornelius Lentulus, in the beginning of the following night, was, by order of the Consul, committed to a vaulted dungeon under ground, and strangled. His accomplices had the same fate; and the minds of men, though somewhat quieted of their fears,

²⁹ The more credit is due to this account of Cato's speech, that the speech; which is ascribed to Cicero by the same historian, is a faithful extract from the oration which still remains.

were

were nevertheless stunned with the scene, and beheld with amazement a Patrician of the Cornelian family of the first rank in the commonwealth, who himself had been Consul, suffering, without any formal trial, by the hands of the common executioner of justice³⁰.

While these things were in agitation at Rome, Cataline was endeavouring to augment his force in the field. He found about two thousand men under Mallius. These he formed into two legions, and as his party increased he completed their numbers. He refused for some time to enrol the fugitive slaves, of whom many took refuge in his camp; thinking it would discredit and weaken his cause to rest any part of it on this support. But the freemen that joined him being ill armed, he was obliged to keep in the neighbourhood of the mountains, and frequently to change his ground, to avoid an engagement with the Consul; and he endeavoured to gain time, in hopes that, the intended blow being struck at Rome, a general defection of the opposite party would ensue. But when accounts came that his design had failed in the city, and that his principal associates were no more, those who were inclined to his cause were discouraged, and numbers who had already joined him began to fall off, he determined to remove to a distance from his enemies; and for this

³⁰ Sallust. Bell. Catal. Cum ergo in sententiam Catonis? quia verbis luculentioribus & pluribus, rem eandem comprehenderat. Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. xii. epist. 21.

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purpose directed his march to a pass in the Apennines, by which he might escape into Gaul. This design the Prætor Metellus had foreseen, made a forced march to prevent the effect of it, and Cataline at last, finding himself beset on every quarter, determined to hazard a battle. Of the armies that were in the field against him he chose to face that of Antonius; either because it lay on his route to Rome, and, if defeated or removed, might open his way to the city, or because he hoped to meet in the commander of it some remains of inclination in his favor. In whatever degree these hopes were at first reasonably conceived, they ceased to have any foundation; as Antonius, being taken ill, had left the army under the command of Petreius. With this commander Cataline engaged in battle, and, after many efforts of valor and of conduct, fell, with the greater part of his followers, and thus delivered the State from a desperate enemy, whose power was happily not equal to his designs, and who has owed much of his celebrity to the orator and the historian, who have made him the subject of their eloquent compositions. Sallust appears to have been so intent on raising and finishing particular parts of his work, that he neglected the general order of his narrative. I have, therefore, in most parts of the relation, preferred the authority of Cicero to his. This great man was undoubtedly best informed, and he rested so much of his reputation on this transaction, that he loses no opportunity of returning to it, and in

different parts of his writings, when collected, has furnished a pretty full narration of circumstances respecting the origin and termination of this wild and profligate attempt to subvert the government of the republic.

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C H A P. I V.

Character of the Times. — Philosophy. — Opposite Tenets and Votaries. — Proceedings of the Senate. — Tribunate of Metellus Nepos, and of Cato. — Proposal to recal Pompey at the head of his army frustrated. — His arrival in Italy. — And Triumph.

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IT may appear strange, that any age or nation should have furnished the example of a project conceived in so much guilt, or of characters so atrocious as those under which the accomplices of Cataline are described by the eloquent orator and historian¹, from whose writings the circumstances of the late conspiracy are collected. The scene, however, in this republic was such as to have no parallel, either in the past or in the subsequent history of mankind. There was less government, and more to be governed, than has been exhibited in any other instance. The people of Italy were become masters of the known world; it was impossible they could ever meet in a fair and adequate convention. They were represented by partial meetings or occasional

¹ Cicero in Sallust.

tumults in the city of Rome; and to take the sense of the People on any subject was to raise a riot. Individuals were vested with powers almost discretionary in the provinces, or continually aspired to such situations. The nominal assemblies of the People were often led by profligate persons, impatient of government, in haste to govern. Ruined in their fortunes by private prodigality, or by the public expense in soliciting honors; tempted to repair their ruins by oppression and extortion where they were intrusted with command, or by desperate attempts against the government of their country if disappointed in their hopes. Not only were many of the prevailing practices disorderly, but the law itself was erroneous²; adopted indeed at first by a virtuous people, because it secured the persons and the rights of individuals, but now anxiously preserved by their posterity, because it gave a licence to their crimes.

The provinces were to be retained by the forces of Italy; the Italians themselves by the ascendant of the capital; and in this capital all was confusion and anarchy, except where the Senate,

² Lex Valeria & Porcia de tergo Civium lata. Liv. lib. ii. c. 8. lib. iii. c. 55. lib. x. c. 9. By these laws a Roman citizen could not be imprisoned, any more than suffer punishment, before conviction; he might stop any proceeding against him by an appeal to the People at large; and, being at liberty during trial, might withdraw whenever he perceived the sentence likely to be given against him.

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by its authority and the wisdom of its councils, prevailed. It was expedient for the People to restrain the abuses of the aristocratical power; but when the sovereignty was exercised in the name of the collective body of the Roman People, the anarchy and confusion that prevailed at Rome spread from one extremity of her dominion to the other. The provinces were oppressed, not upon a regular plan to aggrandize the State, but at the pleasure of individuals, to enrich a few of the most outrageous and profligate citizens. The People were often assembled to erect arbitrary powers, under the pretence of popular government. The public interests and the order of the State were in perpetual struggle with the pretensions of single and of profligate men. In such a situation there were many temptations to be wicked; and in such a situation likewise, minds that were turned to integrity and honor had a proportionate spring to their exertions and pursuits. The range of the human character was great and extensive, and men were not likely to trifle within narrow bounds; they were destined to be good or to be wicked in the highest measure, and, by their struggles, to exhibit a scene interesting and instructive beyond any other in the history of mankind.

Among the causes that helped to carry the characters of men in this age to such distant extremes, may be reckoned the philosophy of the Greeks, which was lately come into fashion, and which was much affected by the higher ranks of men in

the State³. Litterature being, by the difficulty and expence of multiplying copies of books, confined to persons having wealth and power, it was considered as a distinction of rank, and was received not only as an useful, but as a fashionable accomplishment⁴. The lessons of the school were considered as the elements of every liberal and active profession, and they were practised at the bar, in the field, in the Senate, and every where in the conduct of real affairs. Philosophy was considered as an ornament, as well as a real foundation of strength, ability, and wisdom in the practice of life. Men of the world, instead of being ashamed of their sect, affected to employ its language on every important occasion, and to be governed by its rules so much as to assume, in compliance with particular systems, distinctions of manners, and even of dress. They embraced their forms in philosophy, as the sectaries in modern times have embraced theirs in religion; and probably in the one case honored their choice by the sincerity of their faith and the regularity of their practice, much in the same degree as they have done in the other.

In these latter times of the Roman republic the sect of Epicurus appears to have prevailed; and what Fabricius wished, on hearing the tenets of this philosophy, for the enemies of Rome, had

³ Vid. Cicero's Philosophical Works.

⁴ The grandees had their slaves sometimes educated to serve as secretaries to themselves, or as preceptors to their children.

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 III. with national prosperity; they thought that they
 were born to enjoy what their fathers had won,
 and saw not the use of those austere and arduous
 virtues by which the State had increased to its pre-
 sent greatness. The votaries of this sect ascribed
 the formation of the world to chance, and denied
 the existence of Providence. They resolved the
 distinctions of right and wrong, of honor and
 dishonor, into mere appellations of pleasure and
 pain. Every man's pleasure was to himself the
 supreme rule of estimation and of action. All
 good was private. The public was a mere im-
 posture, that might be successfully employed, per-
 haps to defraud the ignorant of their private en-
 joyments, while it furnished the conveniences of
 the wise⁶. To persons so instructed, the care
 of families and of states, with whatever else broke
 in upon the enjoyments of pleasure and ease, must
 appear among the follies of human life. And a
 sect under these imputations might be considered
 as patrons of licentiousness, both in morality and
 religion, and declared enemies to mankind. Yet
 the Epicureans, when urged in argument by their
 opponents, made some concessions in religion,

⁵ See Plutarch. in Pyrr. The philosopher Cyneas, in the
 hearing of Fabricius, entertained his prince with an argu-
 ment, to prove that pleasure was the chief good. Fabricius
 wished that the enemies of Rome might long entertain such
 tenets.

⁶ Cicero in Pisonem.

and many more in morality. They admitted the existence of gods, but supposed those beings of too exalted a nature to have any concern in human affairs. They owned that, although the value of virtue was to be measured by the pleasure it gave, yet true pleasure was to be found in virtue alone; and that it might be enjoyed in the highest degree even in the midst of bodily pain. Notwithstanding this decision on the side of morality, the ordinary language of this sect, representing virtue as a mere prudent choice among the pleasures to which men are variously addicted, served to suppress the specific sentiments of conscience and elevation of mind, and to change the reproaches of criminality, profligacy, or vileness, by which even bad men are restrained from iniquity, into mere imputations of mistake, or variations of taste.

Other sects, particularly that of the Stoics, maintained, almost in every particular, the reverse of these tenets. They maintained the reality of Providence, and of a common interest of goodness and of justice, for which Providence was exerted, and in which all rational creatures were deeply concerned. They allowed, that in the nature of things there are many grounds upon which we prefer or reject the objects that present themselves to us, but that the choice which we make, not the event of our efforts, decides our happiness or our misery; that right and wrong are the most important and the only grounds upon which we can at all times safely proceed in our

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choice, and that, in comparison to this difference every thing else is of no account; that a just man will ever act as if there was nothing good but what is right, and nothing evil but what is wrong; that the Epicureans mistook human nature when they supposed all its principles resolvable into appetites for pleasure, or aversions to pain; that honor and dishonor, excellence and defect, were considerations which not only led to much nobler ends, but which were of much greater power in commanding the human will; the love of pleasure was groveling and vile, was the source of dissipation and of sloth; the love of excellence and honor was aspiring and noble, and led to the greatest exertions and the highest attainments of our nature. They maintained that there is no private good separate from the public good; that the same qualities of the understanding and the heart, wisdom, benevolence, and courage, which are good for the individual, are so likewise for the public; that these blessings every man may possess, independent of fortune or the will of other men; and that whoever does possess them has nothing to hope, and nothing to fear, and can have but one sort of emotion, that of satisfaction and joy; that his affections, and the maxims of his station, as a creature of God, and as a member of society, lead him to act for the good of mankind; and that for himself he has nothing more to desire, than the happiness of acting this part. These, they said, were the tenets of reason leading to perfection, which ought

to be the aim of every person who means to preserve his integrity, or to consult his happiness, and towards which every one may advance, although no one has actually reached it.

Other sects affected to find a middle way between these extremes, and attempted, in speculation, to render their doctrines more plausible; that is, more agreeable to common opinions than either; but were, in fact, of no farther moment in human life than as they approached to the one or to the other of these opposite systems.

Cæsar is said to have embraced the doctrines of Epicurus; Cato those of Zeno. The first, in compliance with fashion, or from the bias of an original temper. The other, from the force of conviction, as well as from the predilection of a warm and ingenuous mind. When such characters occur together, it is impossible not to see them in contrast. When Sallust writes of the proceedings of the Senate, in the case of the Cataline conspiracy, he seems to overlook every other character, to dwell upon these alone. Cæsar, at the time when this historian flourished, had many claims to his notice⁷; but Cato could owe it to nothing but the force of truth. He was distinguished from his infancy by an ardent and affectionate disposition. This part of his character is mentioned on occasion of his attachment to his brother Cæpio, and the vehement sorrow with

⁷ Sallust attached himself to Cæsar, and was employed by him in the civil wars.

B O O K which he was seized at his death. It is mentioned,
III. on occasion of his visit to the dictator Sylla, when he was with difficulty restrained by the discretion of his tutor from some act or expression of indignation against this real or apparent violator of public justice. He had from his infancy, according to Plutarch, a resolution, a steadiness, and a composure of mind not to be moved by flattery, nor to be shaken by threats. Without fawning or insinuation, he was the favorite of his companions, and had, by his unaffected generosity and courage, the principal place in their confidence. Though in appearance stern and inflexible, he was warm in his affections, and zealous in the cause of innocence and justice. Such are the marks of an original temper, affixed by historians as the characters of his infancy and early youth. So fitted by nature, he imbibed with ease an opinion, that profligacy, cowardice, and malice, were the only evils to be feared; courage integrity, and benevolence, the only good to be coveted; and that the proper care of a man on every occasion is, not what is to happen to him, but what he himself is to do. With this profession he became a striking contrast to many of his contemporaries; and to Cæsar in particular, not only a contrast, but a resolute opponent; and though he could not furnish a sufficient counterpoise, yet he afforded always much weight to be thrown into the opposite scale. They were both of undaunted courage, and of great penetration; the one to distinguish what was best; the other to

distinguish the most effectual means for the attainment of any end on which he was bent. It were to mistake entirely the scene in which they were engaged, to judge of their abilities from the event of their different pursuits. Those of Cato were by their nature a series of struggles with almost insurmountable difficulties; those of Cæsar, a constant endeavour to seize the advantages of which the vices and weaknesses of the age, except when he was resisted by persons bent on the same purpose with himself, gave him an easy possession. Cato endeavoured to preserve the order of civil government, however desperate, because this was the part it became him to act, and in which he chose to live and to die. Cæsar proposed to overturn it; because he wished to dispose of all the wealth and honors of the State at his own pleasure.

Cæsar, as versatile in his genius, as Cato was steady and inflexible, could personate any character, and support any cause; in debate he could derive his arguments from any topic; from topics of pity, of which he was insensible; from topics of justice and public good, for which he had no regard. His vigor in resisting personal insults and wrongs appeared in his early youth, when he withstood the imperious commands of Sylla to part with his wife, the daughter of Cinna, and when he revenged the insults offered by the pirates to himself; but while his temper might be supposed the most animated and warm, he was not involved in business by a predilection for any of the interests on which the State was divided. So

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long as the appetites of youth were sufficient to occupy him, he saw every object of State, or of faction, with indifference, and took no part in public affairs. But even in this period, by his application and genius, in both of which he was eminent, he made a distinguished progress in letters and eloquence. When he turned his mind to objects of ambition, the same personal vigor which appeared in his youth, became still more conspicuous; but, unfortunately, his passions were ill directed, and he seemed to consider the authority that was exercised by the Senate, and the restraints of law on himself, as an insult and a wrong.

Cæsar had attained to seven-and-thirty years of age before he took any part as a member of the commonwealth. He then courted the populace in preference to the Senate or better sort of the People, and made his first appearance in support of the profligate, against the order and authority of government. With persons of desperate fortune and abandoned manners, he early bore the character of liberality and friendship. They received him as a generous patron come to rescue them from the morose severity of those who judged of public merits by the standard of public virtue, and who declared against practices, however fashionable, which were inconsistent with public safety. Himself, a person of the greatest abilities, and the most accomplished talents, having an opportunity to live on terms of equality with the greatest men that have yet appeared in the world, he

chose to start up as the chief among those who, being abandoned to every vice, saw the remains of virtue in their country with distaste and aversion. When he emerged from the avocations of pleasure, or from the sloth which accompanies the languor of dissipation, his ambition or desire to counteract the established government of his country, and to make himself master of the commonwealth, became extreme. To this passion he sacrificed every sentiment of friendship or animosity, of honor, interest, resentment, or hatred. The philosophy which taught men to look for enjoyment indiscriminately wherever it pleased them most, found a ready acceptance in such a disposition. But while he possibly availed himself of the speculations of Epicurus to justify his choice of an object, he was not inferior to the followers of Zeno, in vigorous efforts and active exertions for the attainment of his ends. Being about seven years younger than Pompey, and three years older than Cato; the first he occasionally employed as a prop to his ambition, but probably never ceased to consider him as a rival; the other, from a fixed animosity of opposite natures, and from having felt him as a continual opponent in all his designs, he sincerely hated.

Cato began his military service in the army that was formed against the gladiators, and concluded it as a legionary Tribune, under the Prætor Rubrius in Macedonia, while Pompey remained in Syria. He was about three-and-thirty years of age when he made his speech relating

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to the accomplices of Cataline; and by the decisive and resolute spirit he had shown on this occasion, came to be considered as a principal support of the aristocracy, or of the authority of the Senate*. To this body, as usual, every flagrant disorder repressed was a victory. The discovery of a design, so odious as that of Cataline, covered under popular pretences, greatly weakened their antagonists. One of the first uses they proposed to make of their advantage, was to have Cato elected among the Tribunes of the subsequent year. His services were likely to be wanted in opposition to Metellus Nepos, then arrived from the army of Pompey, with recommendations from his general to offer himself a candidate for the same office; and, as was expected, to start some new gratification to the ambition or vanity of this insatiable suitor for personal consideration.

It had not yet appeared what part Pompey was to take in the disputes that were likely to arise on the legality or expedience of the late measures; but it is not to be doubted, that he wished to hold the balance of parties, and that he would come prepared for the part that was most likely to promote his own importance. Metellus was sent on before him to be supported by his friends in the canvass for the office of Tribune, and with his instructions to take such measures as were likely to favor the pretensions of his general.

* Plutarch, in Caton. edit. Londin. p. 238.

general. The leading men of the Senate were now, for some time, aware of the intrigues of Pompey, and bore, with indignation, the personal superiority which he affected even to the first and most respected of their order. They took occasion, in the present crisis, to mortify him by admitting Lucullus and Metellus Creticus to the triumphs to which, by their victories in Pontus and in Crete, they were long entitled. Hitherto their claims had been over-ruled by the popular faction, either to annoy the Senatorian party, to which they were attached, or to flatter Pompey, who was supposed to be equally averse to the honors of both. They had waited in Italy about three years, and, in the manner of those who sue for a triumph, had abstained from entering the city, and still retained the fasces or ensigns of their late command.

Lucullus, having obtained the honor that was due to him, seemed to be satisfied with the acknowledgment of his right; and, as if merely to show with what sort of enemy he had fought, he entered the city with a few of the Armenian horsemen cased in armor, a few of the armed chariots winged with scythes, and about sixty of the officers and courtiers of Mithridates, who were his captives. He ordered the spoils he had gained, the arms and ensigns of war, the prows of the gallies he had taken, to be displayed to public view in the great circus, and concluded

* Cicero in Lucullo.

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the solemnity with giving a feast to the People. The Senate hoped for his support against the ambition of Pompey, and the factious designs of the popular leaders; but he was disgusted, and scarcely ever after took any part in the affairs of State.

The triumph of Metellus Creticus did not take place till after the accession of the following Consuls, D. Junius Silanus and Lucius Muræna, after whose election, Cicero, before he had vacated his own office of Consul, had occasion to defend his intended successor Muræna, against a charge of corruption brought upon the statute of Calpurnius, by Servius Sulpicius, one of his late competitors, supported by Cato and others. The oration of Cicero on this occasion is still extant, and is a curious example of the topics, which, under popular governments, enter even into judicial pleadings. Great part of it consists in a ridicule of law terms; because Sulpicius, one of the prosecutors, was accustomed to give counsel to his friends who consulted him in matters of law; and in a ridicule of the Stoic philosophy, because Cato, another prosecutor, was supposed to have embraced the doctrines of that sect. Cato made no other remark on this pleading, but that the republic was provided with a merry Consul. The argument appeared sufficiently strong on the side of Muræna, and he was acquitted.

At the close of this trial, Cicero, about to resign his power with the usual asseveration, upon oath, That he had faithfully, and to the best of

his abilities, discharged his trust; he proposed, at the same time, to harangue the People, but was ordered by Metellus, already elected, and acting in capacity of Tribune, to confine himself to the terms of his oath. He accordingly refrained from speaking; but instead of swearing simply, That he had been faithful to his trust, he took an oath, That he had preserved the republic ¹⁰. It was on this occasion, probably, that Cato, now another of the Tribunes, in a speech to the People, alluding to the suppression of the late conspiracy, called Cicero the Father of his Country ¹¹; and from this time entered upon an opposition to his colleague Metellus, which was not likely to drop while they continued in office.

Soon after the accession of the new magistrates, a storm began to gather, which, though still aimed at the party of the Senate, burst at last in a personal attack upon the late Consul, who had been the author or instrument of the Senate in the summary proceedings against the accomplices of Cataline. Metellus Nepos seems to have come from Asia, and to have entered on the office of Tribune, with a particular design to bring about the introduction of Pompey with his army into Rome; and he was joined in this project by Caius Julius Cæsar ¹², now in the office of

U. C. 691.
D. Junius.
Sillanus.
L. Muræna.

¹⁰ Plutarch, in Cicerone.

¹¹ Cicero, in Pisonem. c. 3.

¹² Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. 16.

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Prætor, who chose to support the Tribune, as an act of hostility to the Senate, if not as the means of disembarassing himself from the present forms of the commonwealth.

In consequence of a plan concerted with Cæsar, the Tribune Metellus moved in the Senate, as had been usual in the times of its highest authority, for leave to propose a decree in the assembly of the People recalling Pompey from Asia at the head of his forces, in order to restore the constitution of the commonwealth, which, in the terms he afterwards employed to the People, had been violated by the arbitrary administration of Cicero. This was the first attempt of the party to inflame the minds of the People on the subject of the late executions; and Pompey was, in this manner, offered to the popular party as their leader to avenge the supposed wrongs they had received. Cato, when the matter was proposed in the Senate, endeavoured to persuade Metellus to drop it, reminded him of the dignity of his family, which had been always a principal ornament and support of the State. This treatment served only to raise the presumption of Metellus, and brought on a violent altercation between the Tribunes. The Senate applauded Cato, but had not authority enough to prevent the motion which was proposed from being made to the People.

Metellus, apprehending an obstinate resistance from his colleague, endeavoured to fill the place of assembly with his own partisans; and, on the

evening before the meeting, in order to intimidate his opponents, paraded in the streets with a numerous attendance of men in arms. The friends and relations of the other tribunes earnestly beseeched them not to expose themselves to the danger with which they were threatened. But, on the following day, the other party being already assembled by Metellus, at the temple of Castor, and the place having been in the night occupied by persons under his direction, armed with sticks, swords, and other offensive weapons¹³, Cato went forth attended only by Minucius Thermus, another of the Tribunes, and a few friends. They were joined by numbers in the streets, who could not accompany them to their place, being prevented by the multitude of armed men that already crowded the avenues and the steps of the temple. But they themselves, from respect to their office, being suffered to pass, dragged along with them through the crowd, as an aid, in case any violence were offered, Munatius, a citizen much attached to Cato. When they came to the bench of Tribunes, they found that Metellus, with the Prætor Julius Cæsar, had taken their places there; and that, in order to concert their operations in the conduct of their affair, they were closely seated together. Cato, to disappoint this intention, forced himself in between them, and, when the ordinary officer began to read the intended

¹³ Plutarch, in Catone, edit. Londin. p. 241, &c.

BOOK III. decree, interposed his negative, and forbade him to proceed. Metellus himself seized the writing and began to read; but Cato snatched it out of his hands. Metellus endeavoured to repeat the substance of it from his memory. Thermus clapt his hand to his mouth. A general silence remained in the assembly, till Metellus, having made a signal for his party to clear the comitium of their enemies, a great tumult and confusion arose; and the Tribunes who opposed Metellus were in imminent danger. The Senators had met in mourning, to mark their sense of the evils which threatened the commonwealth; and, now, under the apprehension of some signal calamity, gave a charge to the Consuls to watch over the safety of the State, and impowered them to take such measures as might be necessary to preserve or to restore the public peace ¹⁴.

In consequence of this charge, the Consul Muræna appeared with a body of men in arms, had the good fortune to rescue Cato and Minucius Thermus; and probably by this seasonable interposition effaced any remains of misunderstanding which might have subsisted between Cato and himself, on account of the prosecution for bribery which followed the late elections ¹⁵.

Metellus, after the tumult was composed, having again obtained silence, began to read the

¹⁴ Plutarch, in Catone, edit. Londin. p. 241. &c.

¹⁵ Plutarch, *ibid*.

proposed decree; but the Senatorian party, headed by the Consuls, being then in the comitium, he found it impossible to proceed; and, together with the Prætor Caius Julius Cæsar, retired from the assembly. From this time, these officers made no attempt to resume their motion, but complained that the government was usurped by a violent faction, under whom even the persons of the Tribunes were unsafe; and Metellus, as if forced to break through the rules which obliged the Tribunes to constant residence at Rome, abandoned the city, even left Italy, and fled to the camp of Pompey in Asia, from which he was lately arrived¹⁶. He had already threatened his opponents at Rome with the resentment and military power of his general, and now endeavoured to excite the army and their commander to follow the example which had been set to them by Sylla and his legions, when oppressed citizens, a description in which he now comprehended himself, fled to them for protection and revenge.

It may well be supposed, that Cæsar, remembering his own escape from the ruin of the Marian faction, and considering Pompey as the head of an opposite interest, and a principal obstacle to his own ambition, must look upon him with some degree of personal dislike and animosity; but his conduct on this occasion sufficiently showed how little he was the dupe of any passion or sentiment

¹⁶ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 43.

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which had a tendency to check his pursuits. Meaning for the present only to weaken the Senate, and to step in before them in the favor of Pompey; he undertook the cause even of a rival, and would have joined the populace, in delivering the commonwealth into his hands, rather than remain under a government which he hated. But if he really meant to overthrow the Senate by force, he mistook his instrument. Pompey, no doubt, aspired to the sovereignty of the empire, and wished to reign in the city with military power; but even this he desired to receive as the fruit of consideration and personal respect, and he even hoped to make the People bestow it, and even force him to accept of it as their gift. For this purpose he encouraged so many agents and retainers to sound his praise; and for this purpose he had recently sent Metellus Nepos from his camp to take upon him the functions of a popular tribune; but having failed of his object, he by no means could think of extorting it by force. No one ever courted distinction with a more incessant emulation to his rivals; but he was entirely dependent on the public opinion for any satisfaction he enjoyed in the possession of power. Trusting to this last part of his character, Cæsar, though himself of unbounded ambition, was not yet alarmed at the elevation of Pompey, and thought that he was safe even in offering him the dominion of the State. Pompey was, at this conjuncture, with his army moving towards Italy, and his coming was matter of

great solicitude to the friends of the commonwealth, who feared that, in return to the affront of his not being invited to come with his army, upon the motion of Metellus, he would employ it in person to enforce his commands. Upon his arrival at Brundisium, however, as formerly upon his return from Africa, he dispelled those fears by an immediate dismissal of the troops, with instructions, merely that they would attend at his triumph. He himself came forward to Rome with the single equipage of his Proconsular rank. Multitudes of every condition went forth to receive him, and with shouts and acclamations recompensed the moderation with which he acquiesced in the condition of a citizen.

Cæsar, from whatever motive he acted in regard to Pompey, gave every other sign of disaffection to the Senate, and employed the name of this rising favorite of the People, to mortify such of the members in particular as were objects of personal animosity to himself. The repairs or rebuilding of the Capitol being finished about this time, the honor of dedicating the edifice, and of being named in the inscription it was to bear, had, by a resolution of the Senate, been conferred on Catulus, under whose inspection the work was executed. But Cæsar, affecting to procure this honor for Pompey, alledged that Catulus had embezzled the money allotted for this service; that much yet remained to be done; and moved, that the inscription of Catulus

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should be erased ; that the completion of the work being left to Pompey, should carry an inscription with his name ¹⁷. Here he probably acted as much from antipathy to one, as from an intention to flatter the other. But the design being extremely odious to the whole body of the Nobles, who saw, with indignation, in that proposal an attempt to affront a most respectable citizen, in order to flatter the vanity of one person, and to gratify the profligate resentments of another, Cæsar was obliged to withdraw his motion ¹⁸.

It was probably during this year in which Cæsar was Prætor, and before the arrival of Pompey from Asia (although historians refer it to an earlier date), that Cæsar promoted, as has been already mentioned, prosecutions upon a charge of assassination against some persons concerned in the execution of Sylla's proscriptions. The Prætors were appointed by lot to carry particular laws into execution. The law respecting assassination appears to have been the lot of Cæsar; and he was entitled in virtue of his office, the jurisdiction of which was still very arbitrary, to extend, by his edict or plan of proceeding for the year, the description of the crime under his cognizance to any special case.

While he seemed to have formed so many designs against the peace of the commonwealth, and in the capacity of Prætor supported them with the authority of a magistrate, the Senatorian

¹⁷ Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, c. 15.

¹⁸ Dio, Cass. lib. xlvii. c. 44.

party made a powerful exertion of their influence to have him suspended, and actually obtained a decree for this purpose. He affected at first to slight their authority; but finding that a power was preparing to enforce it, perhaps at the hazard of his life, he laid aside for some time the robes and badges of magistracy, dismissed his lictors, and abstained from the functions of Prætor, until, having rejected an offer of the People to restore him by force, he was, with proper marks of regard, for this instance of moderation, reinstated by an act of the Senate ¹⁹.

The aristocratical party, at the same time, to confirm and perpetuate the evidence on which they proceeded against the accomplices of Cataline, continued their prosecutions on this subject, and obtained sentence of condemnation, in particular, against a citizen of the name of Vergun-teius, and against Autronius, who, about two years before, having been elected Consul, was set aside upon a charge of bribery; and who, from the disgust which he took to the Senate upon that occasion, had connected himself with the more desperate party. Publius Sylla, in the same predicament with Autronius, was tried; but, being defended by Cicero, in an eloquent harangue which is still extant, was acquitted.

Cæsar likewise was accused by Vectius as accessory to the conspiracy of Cataline; but it is not likely that he was concerned farther than by

¹⁹ Sueton. in Jul. Cæfare, c. 16.

BOOK the general encouragement he gave to every
 III. party at variance with the Senate. Opposition to this body was called the interest of the People, and was adopted by every person who had any passions to gratify by crimes of State, or who wished to weaken the government, to which they themselves were accountable. Among the supporters of this interest, Crassus also was accused, but probably on no better grounds than Cæsar.

The whole of these proceedings, however, were suspended by the approach of Pompey. This leader had now drawn the attention of all men upon himself, was quoted in every harangue as the great support of the empire, and courted by multitudes, who, without inquiry, affected to be classed with his admirers and friends. The contagion spread like a fashion among the vulgar of every description. He himself affected indifference to this mighty tide of renown, though not without much dignity and state, which he tempered with affability, employing the greatness he possessed to give the more value to his condescensions. His manner, though acceptable to the People and the army, was disagreeable to the Senate. Having previously sent Piso, one of his lieutenants, before him to stand for the Consulate, he had the presumption to desire that the Senate would defer the elections until he himself could be present to canvass for his friend. The Senate, according to Dio, complied with his desire; but, according to Plutarch, rejected the proposal with disdain.

This author imputes the resolution, which they took upon this occasion, to Cato, and subjoins, that Pompey endeavoured to gain this opponent by a proposed marriage with one of his near relations; and that Cato declined the connexion, saying, That he should not be caught in a female snare. Piso, however, was elected together with Valerius Messala, and entered on his office before the triumph of Pompey.

This solemnity followed soon after; and though continued for two days, could not make place for all the magnificent shows that had been provided for it. The list of conquests exceeded that which had ever been produced at any other triumph. Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Medea, Colchos, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Judæa, Arabia, Scythia, Crete²⁰, with the sea in all its coasts. Among the people or potentates subdued, were the Bastarni, Mithridates, and Tigranes. Among the captures, a thousand fortresses, nine hundred cities reduced, eight hundred galleys taken, above two millions of men in captivity. Towns repeopled, not less than three hundred and ninety-nine. To this pompous list, it was subjoined by his friends, that, this being his third triumph, he had been round the known world, and had triumphed over all the three parts of the earth, Africa, Europe, and Asia.

U. C. 692.
M. Pup.
Piso Cal-
purnius, M.
Val. Messa-
la Niger.

²⁰ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. c. 26.

BOOK After rewarding the soldiers, of whom none
III, received less than fifteen hundred denarii ²¹, he carried to the treasury twenty thousand talents ²². He led among his principal captives, besides the chief pirates, Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, with his wife and his daughter, — Zozime, the queen of Tigranes, — the father Aristobulus, king of the Jews, — a sister of Mithridates with five sons, and some Scythian women; — the hostages of the Iberii, and the Commageni, together with trophies for every battle he had fought, making in all a more splendid exhibition than any that was to be found on the records of the State.

The triumphal processions of Pompey merit more attention than those of any other person, because they contained a public evidence of his character. Others took the benefit of an established practice to publish and to ratify the honors they had acquired; but Pompey, it is likely, would have invented the triumph, even if it had not been formerly thought of; and it is not to be doubted, that he over-ran some provinces in which the enemy were subdued, or in which they were so weak, as not to be able to make any resistance, merely to place them in the list of his conquests; and that he made some part of his progress in Asia to collect curiosities and ornaments for this pompous scene.

²¹ About 50 l.

²² About 3,860,000 l.

The triumph, in its ordinary form, contained only such exhibitions as had a reference to the service in which it was obtained; the captives and spoils of the enemy, with effigies and representations where the originals, by any accident could not be displayed. But in these solemnities, executed for the honor of Pompey, were admitted whatever could distinguish or signalize the occasion. Among these, according to the record transcribed by Pliny²¹, there were many costly ornaments of gold and of precious stones, which were fabricated on purpose to be shown. Tables or plates, used for some species of play, made of one entire crystal; a representation of the moon in gold, weighing thirty pondo; tables, utensils, statues, crowns, models of different sorts in gold and precious stones, with the representation of a mountain in gold, having lions, deer, and other animals upon it: and what serves as an evidence that these exhibitions were not limited to the spoils actually taken in war, there is mentioned an image of Pompey himself incrustated with pearls. The whole conducted with more arrangement and order, than were necessary, perhaps, in the disposition of any of the battles which the triumph was intended to celebrate.

Among the images, representations, and memorials which were carried before the victor on this occasion, there was held up to view a state

²¹ Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvii. c. 2,

BOOK of the public revenue, from which it appeared,
 III. that, before Pompey's time it amounted to no more than fifty millions ²⁴; and that the addition which he alone brought to it amounted to eighty-five millions ²⁵.

Soon after this pomp was over, an assembly of the People was called in the Circus Flaminius to receive the address of this victorious general; but, from an extreme caution not to offend any party, the speech which he made, upon this occasion, was acceptable to none. "It gave no hopes," says Cicero ²⁶, "to the poor; no flattery to the rich; no satisfaction to the good; no encouragement to the profligate." Pompey was suffered to possess the highest place in the consideration of the public, merely because he assumed it; and he preserved his dignity, by never committing his reputation without being prepared, and having concerted a variety of arts by which it might be supported.

²⁴ 416.666 l.

²⁵ 708,333 l. Plutarch, in Pompeio, edit. Lond. p. 470.

²⁶ Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 14.

C H A P. V.

Transactions at Rome, and in the Provinces. — Julius Cæsar appointed in the Quality of Proprætor to his first Province of Lusitania. — Trial of Clodius. — Proposed Adoption into a Plebeian Family to qualify him for the Office of Tribune. — Cæsar, a Candidate for the Consulship. — The Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus. — Consulship of Cæsar. — Motion of Vatinius, to confer on Cæsar, for five Years, the Command in Gaul. — Marriage of Pompey to Julia. — Of Cæsar to Calpurnia. — Plot of Vettius. — Consulate of Lucius Calpurnius and A. Gabinius. — Attack made upon Cicero. — His exile.

POMPEY, at his departure from Syria, left that province with two legions under the command of M. Æmilius Scaurus, one of his lieutenants. This officer occupied the country from the Euphrates to the frontier of Egypt, and continued the war which his predecessor had begun with the Arabs.

Caius Antonius, the late colleague of Cicero in the Consulate, soon after the defeat of Cataline, proceeded to the province of Macedonia, of which, by the arrangements of the year, he had been appointed governor. He entered his

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province with the ensigns of victory, which had been obtained by the defeat of Cataline; but these he soon forfeited by his misconduct in a war against the Thracians, and by the disgrace which he otherwise incurred for the mal-administration of his province. Complaints were exhibited against him for extortion. On this occasion it had been reported by himself or by some of his family, that, having agreed to divide the profits of his government with Cicero, part only was exacted on his own account. This allegation, Cicero, in a letter to Atticus, mentions with indignation; and, being asked to undertake his defence, questions whether he can decently do so under this imputation¹. But as he soon afterwards undertook the cause of Antony, and employed his interest to have him continued in his command, it is probable that this imputation either gained no credit, or was entirely removed².

The Allobroges, though deprived of the support they were made to expect from the party of Cataline, nevertheless took arms, and invaded the Roman province of Gaul. After a variety of events, they were repulsed by Pontinius, who then commanded the Roman forces in that quarter, and forced to retire into their own country³.

¹ Vid. Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 12.

² Ad Familiar. lib. v. ep. 5.

³ Dio, lib. xxxvii.

About the same time, Caius Julius Cæsar, upon the expiration of his term in the office of Prætor, obtained his first military command, being appointed by lot to the government of Lusitania, where, under different pretences, he found an opportunity to quarrel with the natives, to show his capacity for war, and to lay some ground for his claim to a triumph[†]. In pushing his way to the preferments which he now held in the State, he had ruined his fortune by largesses, public shows, and entertainments to the People, by his lavish bounty in private to needy and profligate citizens, and in supporting every desperate cause against the Senate and the government; and is reported to have said of himself, that he needed one hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be worth nothing[‡]. When about to depart from the city, he was pressed by his creditors, and had recourse to Crassus, who became his surety for great sums[§].

A person, who, in any other state than that of Rome, could suppose such a fortune reparable, must have thought of means alarming to the State itself; but Cæsar had now quitted the paths of pleasure for those of ambition; and, in an empire which extended over so many opulent provinces, could easily proportion his wealth to

[†] Dio, c. 52. &c.

[‡] Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. ii. p. 715.

[§] Ibid. About. 160,000 l. Plutarch, in Cæsar.

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the extent of his power. Although the province into which he was then sent was none of the richest, and was only a step to somewhat farther, more considerable, and more likely to supply him with the means of pursuing the objects of his ambition, he was nevertheless reported to have supplied his own wants, and to have enriched his army⁷.

In passing the Alps, on his way into Spain, at a village on the way, one of his company observed, that "*Here too there were probably parties and contests for power.*" "Ay," said Cæsar, "and I would rather be the first man in this place than the second at Rome⁸." Upon his arrival in Lusitania, he made the necessary augmentation of the army, and soon overran all the districts that were disposed to resist his authority. With the same ability with which he conducted his military operations, he supported the dignity of a Roman governor, no less in the civil than in the military department. Historians, upon an idea which occurred to them, that the disorders in his own affairs might have rendered him partial to insolvent debtors, are at pains to acquit him of any such charge, and observe that he gave proofs of the contrary, and for the most part ordered two thirds of the debtor's effects to be sequestered for the use of his creditors⁹.

While these things passed in the provinces,

⁷ Plutarch, in Cæsar. edit. Lond. p. 111.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. p. 112.

the city was occupied with ordinary affairs, and suffered an increase of the political distempers with which the public had been for some time infected. The expence and dissipation attending the public shows, in particular, were augmented to a great degree. Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus exhibited the baiting of a hundred bears by African huntsmen¹⁰; and whereas such entertainments had formerly ended at one meeting, they were now continued through many acts¹¹, and were intermitted only while the People retired to their meals.

The office of Cenfor, as appears from the transactions which are mentioned relating to the farms of the revenue and the rolls of the Senate, was in being at this time, although the names of the persons by whom it was exercised are not recorded. The Cenfors are said to have let the revenues of Asia at a rate, of which the farmers afterwards complained, alledging, that their own avidity in grasping at the profits to be made in this new province had misled them¹². They likewise put upon the rolls of the Senate all who had ever held any office of magistracy, and by this addition increased the number of members beyond the former and ordinary rate¹³.

About the same time happened the memorable

¹⁰ Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. c. 36.

¹¹ Dio Cass. lib. xxxii. c. 47.

¹² Cicer. ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 17.

¹³ Dio, lib. xxxvii. c. 46.

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trial of Publius Clodius, for the scandal he had given by profaning the sacred rites in Cæsar's house. This debauchee was supposed, for some time, to have sought for an opportunity of a criminal correspondence with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife; but to have been prevented, if not by her own discretion, at least by the attention and vigilance of her family¹⁴. In these circumstances, in the preceding year, it fell to the lot of Pompeia, as being wife to one of the Prætors in office, to celebrate, at her house, the festival of a certain female deity¹⁵ worshipped by the Romans; and at whose rites women alone were admitted. Every male domestic, even the husband, was obliged to absent himself from home while the rites were administered. Clodius took this opportunity to carry on his intrigue; he put himself in a female dress, and, being young and of an effeminate aspect, expected to pass for a woman¹⁶. Pompeia was supposed to be apprized of the design, and to have stationed a female slave to receive and conduct her paramour through the apartments. Being met, however, by another slave who was not in the secret, his voice betrayed him. A cry of amazement and horror was immediately raised, communicated through all the apartments, and the occasion of it discovered to the matrons, who

¹⁴ Plutarch, in Cæsar. edit. Lond. p. 109.

¹⁵ Called the Bona Dea.

¹⁶ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 12, 13.

were met to celebrate the rites. Clodius escaped, but not without being known. The college of Pontiffs made a report, that the sacred rites had been profaned. The Senate resolved, that inquiry should be made into the grounds of the scandal; and that the People should be moved to authorize the Prætor to select, without drawing lots, proper judges for the trial of the accused.

Clodius, by the suspicion of an incestuous commerce with his own sister, the wife of Lucullus; by his perfidy in seducing the troops of that general to mutiny, and by his profligacy on every occasion, had incurred a general detestation; and many of the Senators combined, as the likeliest way of removing him from the commonwealth, in urging the prosecution against him.

He himself, foreseeing this storm, had taken refuge in the popular party, and endeavoured to silence the voice of infamy, by professing extraordinary zeal for the People, and vehement opposition to the Senate. These parties accordingly became interested in the issue of his cause. The popular leaders endeavoured to preserve him as an useful instrument, and the Senate to remove him as a vile and dangerous tool from the hands of their enemies. Even Cæsar, though personally insulted, and so far moved by the scandal which had been given in his own house as to part with his wife, still affected to consider as groundless the charge that was brought against the accused; and being asked, why he had parted

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with a woman who, upon this supposition, must appear to be innocent, said, that his wife must not only be innocent, but above imputation. Pompey, to avoid giving offence, declined to favor either party; but being called upon in the assembly of the People to declare his opinion, whether this trial should proceed according to the decree of the Senate; made a long speech, full of respect to the Nobles, and of submission to the Senate, whose authority, in all questions of this sort, he said, should ever with him have the greatest weight. He afterwards, in the Senate itself, being called upon by Messala the Consul, delivered himself to the same purpose; and when he had done, whispered Cicero, who sat by him, that he thought he had now sufficiently explained himself; intimating probably, that he meant to comprehend, in this declaration, his judgment with respect to all the acts of the Senate which had passed relating to the accomplices of Cataline¹⁷.

The Consul Piso was instructed to carry to the People, for their assent, an act for the better conduct of the trial of Clodius, dispensing with the usual mode of draughting judges by lot, and authorizing the Prætor to select them, that he might name the more respectable persons. On the day on which this motion was to be made, a numerous party of young Nobility appeared for the defendant. His hirelings and

¹⁷ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 13, 14. 16.

retainers crowded the Comitium. Even Piso, who moved the question, dissuaded the People from passing the law, and allowed the friends of Clodius, to put a ridiculous trick on the assembly, by distributing to the People, as they came forward to vote, two ballots, which, instead of being, as usual, one negative and the other affirmative, were both negative. This trick being observed, Cato suspended the ballot, and strongly remonstrated against the proceeding of the Consul¹⁸. He was supported by Hortensius and Favonius. The assembly broke up, and the affair again returned to the Senate. The members were importuned by Clodius, who cast himself at their feet as they entered; they nevertheless, confirmed their former resolution by a majority of four hundred to fifteen¹⁹.

Hortensius, however, having proposed that, instead of the motion which the Consuls had been instructed to make for the selection of the judges, the Tribune Fufius should move the People to grant commission for the trial, leaving the judges, as usual, to be drawn by lot; an edict was framed and passed to this effect. Hortensius, who conducted the trial, was confident that no jury could acquit the accused. The court accordingly, in all their proceedings, seemed at first inclined to severity. They even applied for a guard to protect their persons against the parti-

¹⁸ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. epist. 13, 14, 16.

¹⁹ Ibid. ep. 14.

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fans of the criminal; but the majority, nevertheless, suffered themselves to be corrupted, and took money in the course of the trial. Of fifty-six judges that were inclosed, twenty-five gave their voice to condemn, and thirty-one to acquit. Catulus, on this occasion, asked the majority to what purpose they had desired a guard? "Was it," he said, "to secure the money you had expected to receive for your votes?"²⁰

Soon after this judgment the Senate resolved that inquiry should be made concerning those judges who had been corrupted in the trial. And by this resolution gave a general offence to the equestrian order, who considered it as an imputation on their whole body²¹.

Pompey, in the course of this transaction, had been obliged to declare himself for the Senate; but his object was to be on good terms with all parties, and to manage his interest, by having some of his creatures always chosen into the highest offices of State. He offered, as candidate for the Consulate of the following year, Afranius, one of his dependants, who is represented by Cicero as a person of mean character, and who, having no personal dignity, nor any credit with the People, was to be supported in his canvass by money alone. Pompey himself, and the Consul Piso, openly employed bribery in obtaining votes in his favor²².

²⁰ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 46. Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 16.

²¹ Ibid. ep. 17.

²² Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 16.

A variety of resolutions were obtained in the Senate to restrain these practices. Two of them were proposed by Cato and Domitius. The first was levelled against the Consul Piso, and gave permission, on the suspicion of illicit practices respecting elections, to visit the house even of a magistrate. By the other it was declared, that all those who were found distributing money to the People should be considered as enemies to their country²³.

The Senate, at the same time, encouraged Lurco, one of the Tribunes, to propose a new clause to corroborate the laws against bribery. By this clause promises of money made to the People, if not performed, did not infer guilt; but, if performed, subjected the guilty person from thenceforward to pay to each of the Tribes an annual tax of three thousand Roman money, or about twenty-four pounds sterling; and there being thirty-five Tribes, this tax amounted in all to about eight hundred and forty pounds of our money. That the Tribune might not be interrupted in carrying this law, the Senate farther resolved, that the formalities or restrictions of the Lex Ælia and Fufia²⁴, should not be opposed to him²⁵. It appears, however, that the liberality

²³ Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 16.

²⁴ These were formalities and restrictions provided to check the precipitate passing of laws.

²⁵ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. i. ep. 16.

B O O K of Pompey prevailed against these precautions,
III. as Afranius was elected, together with Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer.

Soon after the election of these officers the farmers of the revenue of Asia, supported by the whole equestrian order, complained, as has been mentioned, of the terms of their contract, in which they alledged that they had greatly exceeded what the funds of that province could afford, and made application to the Senate for relief. Their plea was contested for some months with great animosity on both sides ²⁶.

Upon the accession of the new Consuls, several other matters, tending to innovation and public disturbance, were introduced. Metellus Nepos, late Tribune, being now in the office of Prætor, procured a law to abolish the customs payable at any of the ports of Italy. The Romans, as has been observed, upon the accession of wealth derived from Macedonia, had exempted themselves from all the ancient assessments, and they now completed the exemption of all the Italians from every tax besides that of quit-rents for public lands, and the twentieth penny on the value of slaves when sold or emancipated. They were become the sovereigns of a great empire, and as such, thought them-

²⁶ Cicero ad Att. lib. i. ep. 17, 18.

selves entitled to receive, not obliged to pay, CONTRIBUTIONS²⁷. CHAP. V.

The Tribune Herennius, at the same time, made a motion for an act to enable Publius Clodius to be adopted into a plebeian family, which, though an act of a more private nature than any of the former, tended still more to embroil the parties of the Senate and the People. This factious and profligate person had entertained great resentments against many of the Senators on account of the prosecution he had lately incurred, and against Cicero in particular, who, having been called as an evidence on his trial, gave a very unfavorable account of his character. The summary proceedings against the accomplices of Cataline, in which Cicero presided as Consul, exposed him to the resentment of the popular faction; and Clodius now proposed to qualify himself to be elected Tribune of the People, in order to wreck his vengeance on that magistrate in particular, as well as on other abettors of the senatorian party. The motion, however, for the present was rejected, though not finally dropt, by Clodius himself, nor by the popular faction, whose cause he professed to espouse²⁸.

Two other motions were made in which Pompey was deeply interested: one, to ratify and

²⁷ Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. ep. 16. Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 51.

²⁸ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 51.

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confirm all his acts in the province of Asia : another, to procure settlements for the veterans who had served under his command. The first, as it implied a reflection on Lucullus, many of whose judgments Pompey had reversed, roused this statesman from the care of his household and his table, to that of the republic²⁹. He opposed this motion with vigor, and insisted that the acts of Pompey should be separately examined, and not confirmed in a single vote. In this he was supported by Catulus, by Cato, by the Consul Metellus, and by the Senate in general. Afranius, though vested with the Consulship, and acting almost as the agent of Pompey, had neither dignity nor force to support such a measure ; and Pompey, finding it rejected by the Senate, declined carrying it to the People³⁰.

The other proposal, relating to the provision to be made for the soldiers of Pompey, was, by L. Flavius, one of the Tribunes, moved in the assembly of the People, under the title of an Agrarian Law. In this act, to prevent the imputation of partiality to any particular description of men, certain gratuities were projected for the indigent citizens in general³¹ ; and, to enable the commonwealth to extend its bounty, it was proposed first of all to revoke the conveyance of certain lands, which, having belonged

²⁹ Plutarch, in Lucullo, edit. Lond. p. 197.

³⁰ Dio, lib. xxxvii. c. 49.

³¹ Ibid. lib. 50.

to the public in the Consulate of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius, were sold by the Senate; and that the price should be restored to the purchasers. It was proposed likewise to seize certain lands which had been confiscated by Sylla, but not appropriated; and to allot, during five years, the revenues of the late conquests in Asia to purchase lands which should be distributed in terms of this act³².

The Consul Metellus Celer, supported by the Senate, strenuously opposed the passing of this law. The Tribune persisted with great obstinacy, and, to remove the obstruction he met with, committed the Consul to prison. The whole Senate would have attended him thither, and numbers accordingly crowded to the place, when the Tribune, vested with the sacred defences of his person, to bar their way, planted his stool or chair of office in the door of the prison; and, having seated himself upon it, "This way," he "said, you cannot pass; if you mean to enter, you must pierce through the walls"³³. He declared his resolution to remain all night where he sat. The parties were collecting their strength, and matters were likely to end in greater extremities than suited the indirect and cautious conduct of Pompey. This politician, although he engaged all his friends to support the motion of Flavius, affected to have no part in

³² Cicer. ad Att. lib. i. ep. 19.

³³ Dio, lib. xxxvii. p. 50.

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the measure, and now probably instructed the Tribune to remove from the door of the prison. Flavius accordingly withdrew of a sudden, saying, he had done so at the request of the prisoner, who begged for his liberty³⁴.

It is supposed that Pompey, on this occasion, severely felt the checks which his ambition received from the senate; that he regretted for a moment the dismissal of his army, and wished himself in condition to enforce what his craft or his artifice had not been able to obtain. The error he had committed in resigning the sword, if he conceived it as such, might have still been corrected by recovering the possession of some considerable province, which would have given him the command of an army and of proper resources to support his power. He, nevertheless, appears to have preferred the scene of intrigue in the city and the capital of the empire; a choice in which he was probably confirmed by Cæsar, who professed great attachment to him, and who was about this time returned from the government which he held as Proprætor in Lusitania.

This officer, according to Dio, had found some pretence for a war with the nations on the frontier of the Roman province; had obliged them to take refuge in some of the islands on the coast, and afterwards reduced them in that retreat. His object was to return to Rome with the reputation of victory, to obtain a triumph, and

³⁴ Dio, lib. xxxvii. p. 50.

and to offer himself as a candidate for the Consulship of the following year. For this purpose he quitted his province without waiting for a successor, and, upon his arrival at Rome, halted, as usual with the ensigns of his military command at the gates of the city, applied for a triumph, and at the same time made interest for votes at the approaching election³³. The Senate, and the friends of the republic in general, were become extremely jealous of his designs, and of his credit with the People. From a libertine he was become an ardent politician, seemed to have no passion but ambition or animosity to the Senate; without committing himself, he had abetted every factious leader against them, and seemed to be indifferent to consideration or honors, except so far as they led to power. Cicero and Cato were at this time the principal, or most conspicuous, members of the Senate. The first was possessed of Consular rank, great ingenuity, wit, and accomplished talents: the other, possessed of great abilities and an inflexible resolution, embraced the cause of the republic with the same ardor that others engaged in pursuing the object of their own ambition, their pleasures, or personal interests. He had penetration enough to perceive in Cæsar, long before the Senate in general was alarmed, a disposition to vilify the aristocracy, and, in conjunction with needy and profligate citizens, to make a prey of

³³ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 50, &c.

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the republic. Under this apprehension he opposed him with a degree of keenness which Cæsar endeavoured to represent as a personal animosity.

The Senators in general, now aware of their danger from Cæsar, were disposed to resist his applications, whether made for honors or for public trust. They, on the present occasion, disputed his pretensions to a triumph, and, while he remained without the city in expectation of this honor, refused to admit him on the list of candidates for the office of Consul. But the day of election being fixed, Cæsar, without hesitation, preferred the consulate to the triumph, laid down the ensigns of his late military command, assumed the gown, and entered the city as a candidate for the Consulship¹⁶.

The People were at this time divided into a variety of factions. Pompey and Crassus distrusted each other, and both were jealous of Cæsar. Their divisions strengthened the party of the Senate, and furnished that body with the means of thwarting separately many of their ambitious designs. This Cæsar had long perceived, and had paid his court both to Pompey and Crassus, in order to hinder their joining the Senate against him. The expedience of this precaution now appeared more clearly than ever, and he is supposed to have separately represented to these rivals the advantage which their enemies derived from their

¹⁶ Sueton. in Cæsare c. 18. Dio, lib. xxxvii. c. 54.

misunderstanding, and the ease with which, if united, they might concert among themselves all the affairs of the republic, gratify every friend, and disappoint every enemy. Upon this representation Pompey and Crassus were reconciled, and agreed to act in concert with Cæsar, and to support him in his pretensions at the approaching elections ³⁷.

This private combination, which remained some time a secret, was afterwards, by a kind of mockery, alluding to the ordinary names of public office, taken from the number of those who were joined in them ³⁸, called the Triumvirate. In the mean time, these supposed leaders of opposite factions, in abating their violence against each other, took a favorable appearance of moderation and candor. They paid their court separately to persons whom they wished to gain, and flattered them with hopes of being able to heal the divisions of their country. This sort of court they paid in particular to Cicero; and by their flatteries, and real or pretended admiration of his talents, seem to have got entire possession of his mind. Pompey affected to place the merits of Cicero greatly above his own. "I, indeed," he said, "have served my country, but this man has preserved it ³⁹." The Senators, with whom

³⁷ Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 54, 55. Plutarch, in Pompeio, Cæsare, & Crasso.

³⁸ As the Decemvirs, Septemvirs, &c.

³⁹ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. epist. 1.

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Cicero had hitherto acted, were alarmed; and it appears that Atticus, about this time, had taxed him with leaving his party, to commit himself into the hands of their enemies. In his answer to this imputation, he seems to have flattered himself that he had made an acquisition of Pompey, not surrendered himself into his power; at least, that he had reclaimed or diverted him from the dangerous projects in which he had been lately engaged, and that he thought himself likely to succeed in the same manner with Cæsar: so much, that he triumphed in the superiority of his own conduct to that of Cato, who, by his austerity and vehemence, had alienated the minds of men otherwise well disposed to the republic⁴⁰, "While I," he said, by a "little discretion, reclaim, or even disarm its enemies"⁴¹.

Few persons were naturally possessed of more penetration than Cicero, although it will afterwards appear how egregiously he was mistaken on this occasion; but he chose not to see what checked his vanity, or prevented his enjoying the court which was paid to him by Pompey and Cæsar. His own glory intercepted every

⁴⁰ Alluding to the opposition which Cato gave to the farmers of the revenue, in their petition for an abatement of their rent. But Cato followed his judgment in this matter; and there is no reason to prefer the judgment of Cicero to his.

⁴¹ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. epist. i.

other object from his view, and made him the dupe of every person who professed to admire him, and secretly displeased with every one who did not pay him, on every occasion, the expected tribute of praise; a description under which Cato, though his most sincere well-wisher and friend, appears at this time to have fallen.

Cæsar to the other arts which he employed to secure his election, added the use of money, which he obtained by joining his interest, in opposition to Bibulus with that of Lucceius, another of the candidates possessed of great wealth. He himself having squandered his fortune, as has been observed, was still greatly in debt, and Lucceius willingly furnished the money that was given to the People in the name of both. This illegal proceeding, together with the menacing concerts of which he began to be suspected with Pompey and Crassus, greatly alarmed the friends of the republic. They determined to support Bibulus against Lucceius; and, in order to give Cæsar a colleague who might occasionally oppose his dangerous intentions, they even went so far as to contribute sums of money, and to bid for votes as high as their opponents. In this crisis, even Cato owned it was meritorious to bribe⁴².

During the dependance of this contest, the

⁴² Sueton. in Caio Cæsare, c. xix. Appian. de Bell. Civ. lib. ii.

B O O K Senate, by the death of Lutatius Catulus, was
III. deprived of an able member, and the People of a fellow-citizen of great integrity, moderation, and ability; a model of what the Romans in this age should have been, in order to have preserved their republic. He partook with Cato in the aversion which Cæsar bore to the most respectable members and best supports of the Senate, and would probably have taken part with him likewise in the continual efforts he made to preserve its authority. The aristocratical party, notwithstanding this loss, prevailed in carrying the election of Bibulus against Lucceius; and though they could not exclude Cæsar from the office of Consul, they hoped, by means of his colleague, to oppose and to frustrate his designs⁴³.

Cæsar, well aware of their purpose, opened his administration with a speech praising unanimity, and recommending good agreement between those who are joined in any public trust. While he meant to vilify the Senate, and to foster every disorderly party against them, he guarded his own behaviour, at least in the first period of his Consulship, with every appearance of moderation and candor, paid his court not only to leaders of faction, but to persons of every description, and while he took care to espouse the popular side in every question, was active likewise in devising regulations for the better

⁴³ Plutarch, Appian, Dio, Sueton. &c.

government of the Empire: so that the Senate, however inclined to counteract his designs, as calculated to raise himself on the ruins of the commonwealth, could scarcely, with a good grace, oppose him in any particular measure. He set out with a project for the relief of indigent citizens having numerous families, including the veterans and disbanded soldiers of Pompey; purposing to settle them on some of the public lands in Italy. He gave out that he expected the concurrence of Cicero in this measure, sent him a message by Balbus⁴⁴, with assurances *that he meant to consult with Pompey and himself in all matters of importance, and that he had hopes of bringing Crassus into the same mind*: words, from which it was manifest that the Coalition of these persons was not yet publicly known. “What a fine prospect I have before me,” says Cicero to Atticus; “a perfect union with Pompey, even with Cæsar if I please; peace with my enemies, and tranquillity in my old age.” But his heart misgave him; the honors of his former life recurred to his mind. With his great talents, he was destined to transmit a more honest fame to posterity, and to become the lamented victim of his country’s betrayers, not the detested associate of their crimes⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ Dio Cass. lib. viii. initio. Plutarch, in Cæfare. In Pompeia, Pompeio, Lucullo, Catone, &c. &c. Sueton, in Cæfare. Appian, de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

⁴⁵ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. ep. 3.

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This Consulate is distinguished by the passing of many laws, particularly this, which was devised for the settlement of citizens on certain public lands; and therefore known by the title of the Agrarian Law. On this act Cæsar was to rest his popularity, and his triumph over the Senate. He gave out that he was to make a provision for twenty thousand citizens, without any burden to the revenue. But he well knew that his antagonists would perceive the tendency of the law, and not suffer it to pass without opposition; and he affected great moderation in the general purpose, and in framing every part of his plan; affecting solicitude to obtain the consent of the Senate; but, in reality, to make their opposition appear the more unreasonable and the more odious to the People. He declared, that he did not mean to strip the revenue of any branch that was known to carry profit to the public, nor to make any partial distribution in favor of his friends; that he only meant to plant with inhabitants certain unprofitable wastes, and to provide for a number of citizens, who, being indigent and uneasy in their circumstances, filled the city itself with frequent disorders and tumults; and that he would not proceed a step without consulting the Senate, and persons of credit and authority in the State.

In a way to save these appearances, and with these professions, Cæsar formed the first draught of an act which he brought to the Senate for their approbation, and the support of their

authority in proposing it to the People. It was difficult to find topics on which to oppose a measure so plausible, and conducted with so much appearance of moderation and candor. But the tendency of the act itself was evidently not to promote the peace of the commonwealth, but to constitute a merit in the party that procured it, and to give power to those who were to be intrusted with its execution.

In great and populous cities indigent citizens are ever likely to be numerous, and would be more so, if the idle and profligate were taught to hope for bounties and gratuitous provisions, to quiet their clamors and to suppress their disorders. If men were to have estates in the country because they are factious and turbulent in the city, it is evident that public lands, and all the resources of the most prosperous state, would not be sufficient to satisfy their claims.

The commissioners appointed for the distribution of such public favors would be raised above the ordinary magistrates, and above the laws of their country. They might reward their own creatures, and keep the citizens in general in a state of dependence on their will. The authors of such proposals, while they were urging the State and the People to ruin, would be considered as their only patrons and friends. "It is not this law I dread," said Cato; "it is the reward expected for obtaining it."

Odious as the task of opposition on such difficult ground might appear to the People, this Senator

B O O K did not decline it. Being asked his opinion in his
III. turn, he answered, That he saw no occasion for the change that was now proposed in the state of the public lands; and entered on an argument with which he meant to exhaust the whole time of the sitting of the Senate, and to prevent their coming to a question. He was entitled, by his privilege as a member in that assembly, to speak without interruption, and might, if he chose to continue speaking, persist until all the members had left the house. Cæsar suspecting his design, and finding it impossible otherwise to silence him, ordered him into custody. The whole Senate instantly rose in a tumult. "Whither go you before the meeting is adjourned?" said Cæsar to Petreius, who was moving from his side. "I go," said the other, "into confinement with Cato. With him a prison is preferable to a place in the Senate with you." The greater part of the members were moving away with Cato, and Cæsar felt himself at once stripped of the disguise of moderation he had assumed, and dreaded the spirit which he saw rising in so numerous a body of men, who, on former occasions, had maintained their authority with becoming vigor. He had relied on their want of decision, and on their ignorance of their own strength. But his rashness broke the charm. He wished that the prisoner would procure some friend among the Tribunes to interpose; but Cato, seeing him embarrassed, and the Senate engaged in the cause, went off in the custody

of the Lictor without any signs of reluctance. CHAP.
 Cæsar immediately recollecting himself, and never V.
 hurried too far by any passion, dispatched a
 Tribune of his own party with secret direction
 to rescue the prisoner; and this being done,
 the Senators again returned to their places. "I
 meant," said Cæsar, "to have submitted this
 law to your judgment and correction; but
 if you throw it aside, the People shall take it
 up."

Cæsar, upon this occasion, increased his own
 popularity, and diminished that of his enemies
 in the Senate, who were supposed in this, as in
 some other instances, to withstand with keenness
 every measure that was devised for the comfort
 of the People. The imputations cast out against
 him by Cato and others, were supposed to pro-
 ceed from malice or cynical prejudices. He
 found himself strong enough to extend his
 bounty to the People, so as to comprehend
 the lands of Campania, which were hitherto
 considered as unalienable, and the richest demefne
 of the public, together with a valuable district
 near the confluence of the Volturnus and the
 Sabbatus, formerly consecrated to pious uses. In
 these valuable tracts of land there was sufficient
 subject for an ample provision for the soldiers
 of Pompey, and for the retainers of those who,
 together with Crassus and Cæsar himself, were

"Dio, lib. xxxviii. c. 1, 2, 3. Plutarch, Sueton,
 Appian, &c.

BOOK proposed to be commissioners for carrying this act
III. into execution.

At the first assembly of the People, Cæsar proposed his scheme to impropriate the lands of Campania, with the above additions; and first of all called on his colleague Bibulus to declare his mind on the subject. Bibulus spoke his dissent; and in vehement terms declared, that no such alienation of the public demesne should be made in his Consulate. Cæsar next called upon Pompey, though in a private station; and the audience, ignorant of the concert into which these leaders had entered, were impatient to hear him on the subject of a measure which was likely to elevate a supposed rival so high in the favor of the People. To the surprise of all who were present, Pompey applauded the general design, and, in a speech of considerable length, discussed all the clauses of the act, and with great approbation of each. When he had done speaking, Cæsar, alluding to what had dropt from his colleague, and affecting to fear the interposition of force; "Will you support us," he said "to Pompey, "in case we are attacked? — "If any one," said the other, "shall lift up a sword against you, "I shall lift up both sword and shield". Crassus being called upon, spoke to the same purpose. The concurrence of these leaders portended the unanimous consent of all parties; and a day

⁴⁷ Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. Plutarch, in Pompeio. Dio. Cass. lib. xxxviii. c. 5.

being fixed for putting the question, the assembly for the present adjourned. C H A P.
V.

To oppose a measure so popular, and from which such numbers had great expectations, no means remained so likely to succeed as superstition. To this aid Bibulus accordingly had recourse, and, by virtue of the authority with which he was vested, proclaimed a general fast, and a suspension for the present year of all the affairs of State. The design of this suspension, and the extravagant length of time to which it was extended, probably enabled his colleague to treat it with contempt, and to proceed in the design of putting his question, as if no such proclamation had been issued. The assembly was accordingly summoned in the temple of Concord. Cæsar, early in the morning, secured all the avenues and steps of the portico with an armed force; had Vatinius, one of the Tribunes of the People, who was entirely devoted to his interest, and even in his pay⁴⁸, stationed this party, in order to take the odium of all violent measures on himself. Bibulus, however, attended by numbers of the Senate, and three of the Tribunes, who were prepared, by their negative, to put a stop

⁴⁸ Cæsar in Vatinius. Cæsar was reported to have said at Aquileia, some time after this date, when Vatinius was disappointed of the Ædileship, that he had no business with honors, being intent on money only; and that he was paid for all his services in the Tribunate.

BOOK to every proceeding, came into the place of
III. assembly with a firm countenance; he protested against the legality of any meeting to be formed in a time of general fast: but the opposite party being in possession of the temple, forced him from the steps, broke the ensigns of the Lictors, wounded the Tribunes that interposed in his defence, and effectually removed all farther obstructions to their own designs. The question then being put, the law passed without opposition, including a clause to oblige every Senator, under pain of exile or death, to swear to the observance of it.

This oath was probably a snare laid by Cæsar for the most resolute of his opponents, like that which was formerly laid by Marius, on a like occasion, for Metellus Numidicus, and by which that virtuous citizen was actually for some time removed from the commonwealth.”

Metellus Celer, the late Consul, together with Cato and Favonius, were likely to have fallen into this snare. They at first declared their resolution not to swear to the observance of any such ruinous law; but, on mature consideration, they became sensible that in this they were serving the cause of their enemies. “You may have no need of Rome,” said Cicero to Cato, “and may go into exile with pleasure; but Rome has need of you. Give not such a victory to her enemies and your own.”

” See b. ii. c. 6.

Upon these considerations it was determined to comply⁵⁰. CHAP.
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Bibulus, on the day following that of his violent expulsion from the assembly of the People, assembled the senate, complained of the outrage he had received and submitted the state of the republic to their consideration. But even this assembly, though consisting of above six hundred of the most powerful citizens of Rome, not destitute even of courage, were declined in their spirit, and became averse to exertions of vigor. They were occupied with their villas, their equipages, and the other appurtenances of wealth and of high rank. "They appear," says Cicero upon this occasion, "to think that even if the republic should perish, they will be able to preserve their fish-ponds."

The Consul Bibulus, even Cato, though far removed from any ambiguity of conduct, saw no possibility of resisting the torrent. The first retired to his own house, and from thenceforward, during the remainder of the year, did not appear in any public place. Cato absented himself from the Senate⁵¹.

While Cæsar engrossed the full exercise of the consular power, Bibulus was content with issuing his edicts or manifestos in writing, containing protests, by which he endeavoured to stop all proceedings in public affairs on account of the

⁵⁰ Plutarch, in Catone. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

⁵¹ Cicero pro Sextio. Plutarch, in Catone.

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religious fast, or continuation of holidays, which he had instituted to restrain his colleague. In these writings he published violent invectives against Cæsar, in which, among other articles, he charged him with having had a part in the conspiracy of Cataline⁵². The Tribune Vatinius, in return, issued a warrant to commit the Consul Bibulus to prison; and, in order to seize him, attempted to break into his own house; but in this he was foiled, and the parties continued, during the remainder of this Consulate, in the same situation with respect to each other.

In dating the year, instead of the Consulate of Cæsar and Bibulus, it was called by some way the Consulate of Julius and Cæsar⁵³. This able adventurer, though suspected of the deepest designs, went still deeper in laying his measures for the execution of them than his keenest opponents supposed. He found means to tie up every hand that was likely to be lifted up against himself; as those of Pompey and Crassus, by their secret agreement, of which the articles were gradually disclosed in the effect. He confirmed to Pompey all the acts of his administration in Asia, and, by putting him on the commission for dividing the lands in Campania, and for settling a colony at Capua, gave him an opportunity, which the other earnestly desired, of providing

⁵² Plutarch, in Catone, c. 20. Dio Cass. lib. xxxvii. c. 6. 8.

⁵³ Sueton. in C. Cæsare.

for many necessitous citizens of his party. He flattered Crassus sufficiently, by placing him on the same commission, and by admitting him to a supposed equal participation of that political consequence which the Triumvirs proposed to secure by their union. He gained the Equestrian order, by granting a suit which they had long in dependance, for a diminution of the rents payable by the revenue farmers in Asia⁵⁴. These he reduced a third; and with that order of men acquired the character of great liberality and candor. He himself was the only person who in appearance was not to profit by these arrangements. He was occupied, as his retainers pretended, in serving the republic and in promoting his friends; was the general patron of the distressed and the indigent, and had nothing to propose for himself.

With his consent, and under his authority, Fufius, one of the Prætors, and Vatinius, one of the Tribunes, obtained two laws, both of them equitable and salutary: the first, relating to the use of the ballot in the Comitia, or assembly of the People: the other, relating to the challenge of parties in the nomination of judges or juries. The introduction of the ballot in political questions had greatly weakened the influence of the aristocracy over the determinations of the People; and resolutions were frequently carried in

⁵⁴ Cicero ad Atticum, lib. ii. epist. i. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. p. 435.

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this manner, which no party, nor any particular order of men, were willing to acknowledge as their measure. The nobles imputed the absurd determinations to the majority that was formed by the People, and these sometimes retorted the imputation. To leave no doubt in such matters for the future, Fufius proposed that the orders of Patrician, Equestrian, and Plebeian, should ballot apart⁵⁵. This regulation had some tendency to restore the influence of the superior classes.

Vatinius proposed that in criminal actions, when the judges were drawn by lot, the defendant and prosecutors might, in their turns, challenge, or strike off from the list, persons to whom they took a particular exception⁵⁶.

Cæsar himself was busy in devising new regulations to reform the mode of elections, and to improve the forms of business in some of the public departments. By one of his acts the priests were to be elected agreeably to the former laws of Atius and Domitius, with this difference, that candidates might be admitted even in absence. By another of his acts, regular journals were to be kept in the Senate and in the assemblies of the People, and all their proceedings recorded for the inspection of the public. By a third, persons convicted of treason were subject to new penalties, and governors of provinces to addi-

⁵⁵ Dio, lib. xxxviii. c. 8.

⁵⁶ Ibid. Appian.

tional restraints in the exercise of their power. Such officers were not allowed to receive any honorary gift from their provinces, until their services being considered at Rome, were found to have entitled them to a triumph⁵⁷. They were restrained from encroaching on the right of any State or principality beyond the limits of their province. They were obliged to leave copies of their books and of their acts at two of the principal towns in their government⁵⁸, and, immediately upon their arrival at Rome, to give in a copy of the same accounts to the treasury. They were doomed to make restitution of all subjects received in extortion, not only by themselves, but by any of their attendants⁵⁹.

With these acts Cæsar adorned his Consulate, and in some measure discountenanced the party which was disposed to traduce him. He is, nevertheless, accused of having stolen from the treasury, to which he had access in the capacity of Consul, bars of gold weighing three thousand pondo, and of having concealed the theft by substituting brass gilt, and of the same form, in its place⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ Cicero ad Att. lib. v. epist. 16. & lib. vi. epist. 7.

⁵⁸ Cicero ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 17. & lib. v. ep. 20.

⁵⁹ Ibid. in Vatinius pro Sext.

⁶⁰ Sueton. in Jul. c. 54. Cæsar is said to have sold the gold bullion he brought from Spain at 3000 H. S. or about 25l. of our money. This will make his supposed theft about 75,000l.

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Whatever foundations there may have been for this report, it soon appeared that Cæsar had objects of a more serious nature, could copy, on occasion, the example of Pompey, and, in his manner, cause what was personal to himself to be proposed by others, whom he might be free to support or disavow according to the reception which his proposal met from the public. It cannot be doubted that he now conceived the design of bringing a military force to support his pretensions in the city. Hitherto kingly power being odious at Rome, whoever had aspired to it had always perished in the attempt, and the mere imputation, however supported, was fatal. The most profligate party among the populace were unable or unwilling to support their demagogues to this extent; and the People in general became jealous of their most respectable citizens, when it appeared that merit itself approached to monarchical elevation. Marius, by the continued possession of the highest offices, and by the supreme command of armies, had acquired a species of sovereignty which he knew not how to resign. Cinna came into partnership with Marius, and wished to govern after his decease. Sylla, to revenge his own wrongs and those of his friends, to cut off a profligate faction, and restore the republic, took possession of the government. He led his army against usurpers, and had the power to become himself the most successful usurper, as he was put in possession of a sovereignty which he no doubt might have

retained. So far he was a model to every ambitious adventurer, and pointed out the only means which could insure to a single person the sovereignty of Rome. Cataline, with his accomplices Lentulus and Cethegus, had vainly attempted to overturn the State, or to usurp its government, by means of a profligate party among the populace or citizens of desperate fortune⁶¹. Cæsar was become head of the same party; but an army like that of Sylla, a convenient station, and the resources of a great province, were necessary to support the contest, and to carry it against his rivals, as well as against the republic itself, to a favorable issue.

The republic had taken many precautions to prevent the introduction of military power at Rome. Although the functions of state and of war were intrusted to the same persons, yet the civil and military characters, except in the case of a Dictator, were never united at once in the same person. The officer of State resigned his civil power before he became a foldier, and the foldier was obliged to lay aside his military ensigns and character before he could enter the city; and if he sued for a triumph in his military capacity, must remain without the walls till that suit was discussed. The command of armies and

⁶¹ Speaking of the imaginary danger to a State of being overturned by the rabble; we might as much fear, said a witty writer of the present age, that a city would be drowned by the overflowing of its own kennels.

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of provinces in the person of any officer was limited to a single year at a time, at the end of which, if it were not expressly prolonged, it was understood to expire, and to devolve on a successor named by the Senate.

That no leader of a party might have an army at hand to overawe the republic, no military station was supposed to exist within the limits of Italy. The purpose, however, of this precaution was in some measure frustrated by the near situation of a province in which an army was kept within the Alps. Italy was understood to extend only from the sea of Tarentum to the Arnus and the Rubicon: beyond these boundaries, on the northwest, all those extensive and rich tracts on both sides of the Apennines, and within the Alps, which now make the dutchies of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Milan, the States of Piedmont and Venice, with the dutchy of Carniola, and the whole of Lombardy, were considered, not as a part of Italy, but as a province termed the Cisalpine Gaul, and, like the other Roman provinces, was to be held by a military officer, supported by an army.

This then was the most commodious station at which a political adventurer might unite the greatest advantages, that of having an army at his command, and that of being so near the capital as to be able, by surprize, to occupy the seats of government whenever his designs were ripe for such an attempt.

Sylla had an army devoted to his pleasure; but,

having the seas of Asia and Ionia to pass in his way to Italy, could not, without giving an alarm from a great distance, and without putting his enemies on their guard, approach to the city. He therefore, when he had this object in view, made no secret of his purpose.

Cæsar had formed a design on the commonwealth, and acted from his original disposition, and a deliberate intention to make himself master of it; not urged, like Sylla, by great provocations, and the suggestion of singular circumstances. He arranged his measures like the plan of a campaign, which he had the ability to digest, and the patience to execute with the greatest deliberation. He proposed to make himself master of an army at the gates of Rome, and to have the resources of a province contiguous to the capital. He secured the possession of these advantages by an unprecedented prolongation of the usual appointments for five years; so that the People themselves could not, without a breach of faith, recal their grant upon any sudden alarm of the improper use he might propose to make of their favors.

The Cisalpine Gaul, or that part of Italy which lay from the Rubicon to the Alps, was peculiarly suited to the purpose of Cæsar. But the distribution of the provinces was still within the prerogative of the Senate; and the provincial governments were filled by their appointment, in pursuance of an express regulation ascribed to Caius Gracchus, and known, from his name, by

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the title of the Sempronian Law ⁶². Cæsar had ever been at variance with the greater part of the Senate. In the office of Prætor he had been suspended by their authority. In his present office of Consul he had set them at open defiance. He had no prospect of being able to obtain from them the choice he had made of a province; and the proposal to put him in possession of the Cisalpine Gaul for a term of years, joined to the preceding parts of his conduct, would have given a general alarm, and opened at once the whole extent of his design.

It was necessary, therefore, in order to obtain this object, to set aside the authority of the Senate, and to procure his nomination by some degree of surprise. The Tribune Vatinius accordingly, upon a rumor that the Helvetii, or the nations inhabiting from Mount Jura to the Alps, were likely to cause some commotion on the frontier of Gaul, moved the People to set aside the law of Sempronius, and, by virtue of their own supreme power, to name Cæsar as Proconsul of the Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years, with an army of three legions. The senatorian party, as might have been expected, were greatly alarmed at this proposal. They vainly, however, hoped to evade it by substituting another appointment for Cæsar in place of this province. It was proposed to make him superintendant of the public forests throughout the empire; a

⁶² Lex Sempronia, vid. b. ii. c. 3.

charge which, though not, in our acceptation of the word, a province, was however, like every other public department in that empire, known by this name. This substitute for the government of the Cisalpine Gaul was thought to be the better chosen, that it neither implied nor required the command of an army, and was to withhold the engine of military power from a person so likely to abuse it. This weak attempt, however, against so able an adversary, only tended to expose the meaning of those by whom it was made, and by showing to the Senate their own weakness, hurried them into concessions which perhaps might have been otherwise avoided. In order that Cæsar might not owe every thing to the People and nothing to them, they extended his command at once to both sides of the Alps. On the one side of these mountains he had a station from which to overawe the city: on the other, he had a great extent of territory, and a theatre of war on which he might form an army and inure them to service. The Senate, seeing he had already, by a vote of the People, obtained the first with an army of three legions for five years; and imagining that it was no longer of any use to oppose him; or hoping to occupy his attention, or to wear out the five years of his command in wars that might arise beyond the Alps, they joined to his province on the Po, that of the Transalpine Gaul, with an additional legion. In this manner, whether from these or any similar reasons, it is affirmed by some of the

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historians “, that the Senate even outran the People in concessions to Cæsar; and to this occasion is referred the memorable saying of Cato: “ Now you have taken to yourselves a king, and “ have placed him with his guards in your Citadel “.

Cæsar, at the same time, on the motion of the Tribune Vatinius, was empowered to settle a Roman colony on the Lake Larius at Novum Comum, with full authority to confer the privilege of Roman citizens on those he should settle in this place. Having obtained the great object of his Consulate, in his appointment for a term of years to the command of an army within the Alps, he no longer kept any measures with the Senate, nor allowed them any merit in the advantages he had gained. He was aware of their malice, he said, and had prevailed in every suit, not by their concession, but in direct opposition to their will. Though capable of great command of temper, and of the deepest dissimulation when in pursuit of his object, he appears, on this and other occasions to have had a vanity which he indulged, in braving the world when his end was obtained “. As he insulted the Senate when no longer depending on their concurrence for any of his objects, so he no longer

“ Sueton. in Jul. Cæsare, c. 22.

“ Plutarch, in Catone. Dio Cass. lib. xxxviii. Appian, de Bell. Civil. lib. ii.

“ Sueton. in Cæsare, lib. ii. c. 22.

disguised his connexion with Pompey and Crassus, or the means by which, in his late measures, the concurrence of these rivals had been obtained.

As such combinations and cabals generally have an invidious aspect to those who are excluded from them, the Triumvirate, for so it began to be called in detestation and irony⁶⁶, notwithstanding the popularity or influence enjoyed by those who had formed it, became an object of aversion and general abuse⁶⁷. They were received at all public places with groans and expressions of hatred. An actor, performing on the public theatre, applied to Pompey a sentence of reproach, which occurred in the part he was acting. The application was received with peals of applause, and called for again and again⁶⁸.

The edicts that were published by Bibulus in opposition to Cæsar were extolled, and received with avidity. The places of the streets at which they were posted up were so crowded with mul-

⁶⁶ The titles of Duumvirs, Triumvirs, and so on, were the designations of legal commissions at Rome acting under public authority; such title was given to the private coalition of these adventurers in mere irony.

⁶⁷ Cicer. ad Att. lib. ii. ep. 16.

⁶⁸ "To our misfortune thou art great." He was called upon to repeat these words again and again innumerable times. "The time will come when thou shalt rue this State;" was likewise repeated with peals of applause, &c. Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. epist. 19. Val. Max. lib. vi. c. 2.

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titudes assembled to read them, that the ways were obstructed. Cæsar and Pompey endeavoured to lessen the effect of these edicts in speeches to the People, but were ill heard. Pompey lost his temper and his spirit, and sunk in his consideration as much as Cæsar advanced in power. It became manifest, even to the People, that Cæsar had procured their conjunction for his own conveniency⁹; but Pompey himself probably felt that he was too far advanced to recede.

The Senate, and all the most respectable citizens of Rome, though unanimous in their detestation of the design that was formed by Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, to dispose of the Republic at their pleasure, yet either were, or believed themselves, unable to cope with the power of so many factions united. Cæsar, in order to hold by force what he gained by artifice, and by some degree of surprise, filled the streets with his retainers in arms, and showed, that, in case of any attempt to recal what had been so weakly given up to him, he was in condition to resist, and to lay the city in blood. If he were driven from Rome, he had provided within the Alps an army of two or three complete legions, with which he could maintain his province, or even recover his possession of the city. Every one censured, complained, and lamented; but there was little

⁹ One of the sentences, so much applauded in its application to him at the theatre, was, "*Eandem virtutem tempus veniet cum graviter gemes.*"

concert, and less vigor, even among the members of the Senate. C H A P.
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Cato, with his declared disapprobation of the late measures, was reduced to the single expedient of assisting Bibulus in drawing up the edicts or manifestos against the proceedings of Cæsar, which were, at this time, received with so much avidity by the People.

Cicero now declined taking part in any affair of State; but being known for an advocate, was courted in this capacity by many citizens, who had affairs in dependance before the courts of justice; and apprehending an attack which was likely to be made upon himself, on account of the transactions of his Consulship, he avoided, as much as possible, giving offence to any of the parties which divided the commonwealth. The storm was to be directed against him by Publius Clodius, under whose animosity to the government of the Nobles, and to Cicero in particular, it was perceived for some time to be gathering⁷⁰.

This bustling profligate having, in the former year, in order that he might be qualified for Tribune of the People, got himself adopted into a Plebeian family, could not obtain the necessary ratification of the deed of adoption in the assembly of the Curia, until his cause was espoused by Cæsar, who seems to have taken his part, in resentment of some insinuations thrown out

⁷⁰ Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. epist. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

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against himself by Cicero in pleading for C. Antonius, his late colleague in the Consulate. Antonius being, as has been mentioned, on account of his administration in Macedonia, accused of extortion, was defended by Cicero, who took that occasion to lament the state of the republic, brought under subjection as it was by a cabal which ruled by violence, and in contempt of the law. Cæsar was greatly provoked: "This person," he said, "takes the same liberty to vilify the reputation of others, that he takes to extol his own;" and upon those expressions, considered as a warning of the part which Cicero was likely to take in his absence, he determined not to leave him at the head of the Senatorian party to operate against him. His destruction might be effected merely by expediting the formality of Clodius's adoption into a Plebeian family, to qualify him for Tribune of the People⁷¹; and Cæsar, on the very day in which he received this provocation from Cicero, permitted the act of adoption to pass in the assembly of the Curia.

Pompey likewise concurred in executing this deed of adoption for Clodius, and assisted in the quality of Augur to carry it through the religious forms. Clodius, in the mean time, gave out, that he had no design on the Tribunate, but was soliciting an embassy to Tigranes, king of

⁷¹ Dio Cass. lib. xxxviii. c. 10, &c. Plutarch, in Cicerone. Cicero pro domo sua, de Provinciis Consularibus, &c.

Armenia. Cicero was so much blinded by this pretence, that he was merry in his letter to Atticus on the absurdity of Clodius, in having himself degraded into a Plebeian, merely to qualify him to appear at the court of Tigranes. He was merry likewise with his not being put on the commission of twenty for the execution of Cæsar's Agrarian Law. "Strange!" he said, "that he
" who was once the only male creature in Cæsar's
" house, cannot find one place among twenty
" in this list of his friends ⁷²."

The more effectually to impose upon Cicero and his friends, Cæsar affected to believe, that the intention of Clodius was against himself, and taken up with the animosity of a person who had already attempted to dishonor his house ⁷³; and he pretended to dispute the validity of his adoption, and of consequence, his qualification to be elected a Tribune. Pompey joined in the same vile artifice. "Nay," says Cicero, upon hearing of their pretended opposition to Clodius, "this
" is perfect tyranny. Only send the proper officers
" to me, and I will give my affidavit, that Pom-
" pey told me himself he had assisted as Augur
" in passing that decree ⁷⁴."

With these transactions the year of Cæsar's Consulship drew to a close. He ratified his treaty with Pompey, by giving him his daughter Julia

⁷² Cicer. ad Att. lib. ii. epist. 7.

⁷³ In the intrigue with Cæsar's wife.

⁷⁴ Cic. ad Att. epist. 10. Vul. 12.

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in marriage. During the former part of the year, this lady had been promised to Servilius Cæpio, and had been of great use to her father, by securing the services of Cæpio against Bibulus. Servilius, on his disappointment, was pacified by the promise of Pompey's daughter. Cæsar himself married the daughter of Calpurnius Piso, who, together with Gabinius, the creature of Pompey, was destined to succeed in the Consulate, and who was, by this alliance, secured in the interest of Cæsar. "Provinces, armies, and kingdoms," said Cato on this occasion, "are made the dowries of women", and the empire itself "an appendage of female prostitution."

In this situation of affairs, and among parties who dealt in impositions and artifices, as well as in open and daring measures, some particulars are recorded, which, to gain our belief, require some acquaintance with the manners of the times. Vettius, a citizen of some note, who had been employed by Cicero in the time of his Consulship to gain intelligence of the Cataline conspiracy, now himself appeared as the author of a plot, of which the origin and the issue were matter of various conjecture. Knowing that Curio, a young man of high rank, and a declared enemy of Cæsar, was on bad terms likewise with Pompey, he told him in confidence, that he himself had determined to assassinate Pompey, and

⁷⁵ Plutarch, in Catone.

proposed

proposed to Curio to join with him in that design. The young man communicated the matter to his father, and the father to Pompey, who laid it before the Senate. Vettius being examined in the Senate, at first denied any intercourse with Curio, but afterwards confessed, that he had been drawn into a conspiracy with this young man, with Lucullus, Brutus, Bibulus, and some others, who had formed a design on Pompey's life.

It was strongly suspected, that Cæsar had employed Vettius to frame this imposture; in order that he might engage some of those persons in a criminal correspondence; and that it was intended, as soon as he had laid some foundation for an imputation of guilt against them, that he should, with a party of slaves, armed with daggers, put himself in the way of being taken; that he should at first deny the plot, but afterwards suffer himself to be forced, by degrees, to confess, and to declare his pretended accomplices; that this plan was disconcerted by the early intimation which Curio gave to his father, before all the circumstances intended to give it an air of probability were in readiness.

It was scarcely possible, however, that Cæsar should have committed his reputation to the hazard of detection in so infamous a project. He laid hold of it indeed with some avidity, and endeavoured to turn it against his opponents. After Vettius had been examined before the Senate, and was committed to prison for farther

B O O K examination, Cæsar presented him to the People, and brought him into the rostra, to declare what he knew of this pretended bloody design. The prisoner repeated his confession, but varied in the account of his accomplices, particularly in leaving Brutus out of the list; a circumstance likewise, in the scandal of the times, imputed to the partiality of Cæsar, and considered as proof of his clandestine relation to this young man. Vettius was remanded to prison, and a process commenced against him on the statute of intended assassination. A trial must have probably disclosed the whole scene, and for this reason was said to have been prevented, by the sudden death of Vettius, who was supposed to have been strangled by order of Cæsar in prison ⁷⁶.

U. C. 695. By the influence of Pompey and Cæsar, Gabinus and Piso were elected Consuls; and, by their connivance, Clodius became Tribune of the People. The ascendant they had gained, however, was extremely disagreeable to many of the other officers of State, and even to some of the Tribunes. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Memmius Gemellus joined in an accusation against Cæsar, late Consul, for proceedings in office contrary to law and religion. Cæsar, for some time, affected to join issue with him on these questions, and to submit his cause to judgment; but apprehending delay and trouble, without any

⁷⁶ Cicero ad Att. lib. ii. epist. 24. Sueton. in Cæsare, c. 20.

advantage from such an inquiry, he pleaded his privilege as a person destined for public service; and accordingly, without staying to answer this charge, withdrew from the city, and continued to make his levies, and to assemble his armies in the suburbs of Rome. C H A P.
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In this posture of affairs, one of the Quæstors, who had served under Cæsar in his Consulship, was convicted of some misdemeanor⁷⁷; and the opposite party, as if they had of a sudden broke the chains in which they were held, commenced suits against all the tools that had been employed by him in his late violent measures. Gabinius had been charged with bribery by Caius Cato, then a young man. But the Prætor, whose lot it was to exercise the jurisdiction in such cases, being under the influence of Pompey, evaded the question. Caius Cato complained to the People, and, having said that Pompey usurped a Dictatorial power, narrowly escaped with his life⁷⁸.

Vatinius was accused before the Prætor Memmius, who willingly received the accusation; but all proceedings were suddenly stopped by the interposition of Clodius in the capacity of Tribune; and the attention of the people and of the Senate soon came to be more entirely occupied with the designs of this factious adventurer.

The ruin of Cicero appears to have been the

⁷⁷ Sueton. in Nerone, c. ii. & in Cæsare, c. 23.

⁷⁸ Cicero ad Quint. Frat. lib. i. epist. 2.

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principal object which Clodius proposed to himself in entering on the office of Tribune; and this, though affecting to be of the popular party, he pursued chiefly from motives of personal animosity and resentment. Cicero had given evidence against him on his trial, and afterwards in the Senate made him the object of his wit and invective⁷⁹. He is generally represented by Cicero as effeminate and profligate, void of discretion or prudence. On the present occasion, however, he seems to have managed with considerable steadiness and address. He acted evidently in concert with Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; but probably had not from them any particular direction in what manner he was to proceed.

Ever since the summary proceedings which were employed against the accomplices of Cataline, the danger of this precedent was a favorite topic with the popular faction. Clodius professed that the object of his Tribunate was to provide a guard against this danger. He began with paying his court to different parties and different orders of men in the republic, by proposing acts favorable to each; and he stated his motion for the better securing of the People against arbitrary execution, which he meant in the end to apply to Cicero as but one of many regulations intended by him for the benefit of the public, and which he joined with some acts

⁷⁹ Cicer. ad Att. lib. i.

of gratification to private persons. He gained the present Consuls by procuring them lucrative appointments, at the expiration of their year in office, to Piso, Macedonia including Achaia; to Gabinius, Syria with a considerable addition beyond the usual bounds of the province[°]. He gained the indigent part of the People by an act to remit all the debts which were due for corn at the public granaries; and by ordering, for the future, the distributions from thence to be made gratuitously[°]. He, at the same time, procured another act extremely agreeable to many of the citizens, for restoring and increasing the number of corporations which had been abolished about nine years before, on account of the troubles to which they gave rise.

The meeting of corporate bodies, in a city so much addicted to faction and tumult, had been the cause of frequent disorders. As persons, affecting to govern the State, endeavoured to gain the People by indulging their passions for idleness and pleasure, with games, theatrical entertainments, combats of gladiators, and the baiting of wild beasts; so the head of every corporate body, though upon a smaller scale, had his feasts, his entertainments, and shows, forming his party retainers, on occasion, to maintain his pretensions by force. The renewal, there-

[°] Plutarch, in Cicerone.

[°] Pædianus in Pisoniana. Dio, lib. xxxviii. Cicer. pro Domo sua.

B O O K fore , of such establishments, a measure which
 III. carried to every tradesman in his stall the feeling and consequence of a Crassus, a Pompey, and a Cæsar, affecting to govern the world in their respective ways , was greedily adopted by the lower people. And Clodius took the opportunity of the first popular meetings to awaken and to direct their zeal to his own purpose ⁸². He even gained a considerable party in the Senate by affecting to circumscribe the discretionary power of the Censors over this body. Many of the members had reason to dread the Censorial animadversions, and were pleased with an act which he obtained to provide , that , for the future , no one could be struck off the rolls of the Senate without a formal trial , and the concurrence of both the Censors ⁸³.

Joined to so many arts practised to reconcile different parties to the measures he affected to take for the security of the People's liberties, Clodius promulgated his law of provision against arbitrary executions , and gave it a retrospect which was undoubtedly meant to comprehend the summary proceedings which had been held against Cethegus and Lentulus in the Consulate of Cicero. While the subject was in dependance, he thought of two circumstances that might operate

⁸² Dio , lib. xxxviii. c. 13. Cicero in Pisonem , c. 4. & Ascanius , *ibid*.

⁸³ *Ibid*. See a summary of these acts. Cicero pro Sextio, from c. 15. to c. 28.

against him, and which he was therefore determined to prevent. One was, the practice of recurring to the celestial auspices by which the proceedings of the People were sometimes suspended; and the other was, the opposition which he might expect from Cato, who was likely to consider the cause of the Senate and the republic as involved in that of the magistrate, who had preserved the State by executing their decrees. To secure himself against the first, he procured an edict to prohibit all persons from observing the heavens while the People were deliberating on any affair of State; and to obviate the second, he thought of a pretence for a temporary removal of Cato from Rome.

In the preceding Consulate, Cato, though armed as he was solely with the reputation of integrity, unable to prevent the progress of a ruinous faction affecting popular measures, yet, by his unremitted opposition, he forced them, on occasion, to show what Pompey in particular was extremely desirous to conceal, that they prevailed by corruption and force, not by what they pretended, the free choice of their fellow-citizens. Clodius, foreseeing a like opposition, and possibly a disappointment in his design against Cicero, if Cato continued at Rome, devised a commission to employ him in foreign service. Ptolomy, king of Cyprus, had put a personal affront on Clodius, by refusing to pay his ransom when taken by pirates on the coast of Asia near to that island. He now took an opportunity to be revenged on

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him, by procuring an act to forfeit his kingdom and his treasure; and by making Cato the instrument of his revenge, he proposed to free himself at the same time from the interruption which this citizen was likely to give to his projects at Rome⁴⁴.

At an interview with Cato, Clodius had the impudence to pretend great admiration of his virtue; told him, that the commission to reduce Cyprus into the form of a province was solicited by many; but that he knew of none who, by his faithfulness and integrity, was so well qualified for the trust as Cato, and that he meant to propose him to the People. "That," said Cato, "I know is a mere artifice; not an honor, but an indignity intended to me." "Nay," said Clodius, "if you do not go willingly, you shall go by force;" and on that very day moved and obtained his nomination from the People. Lest the affair of Cyprus should not detain him a sufficient time, he was farther charged in his commission to repair to Byzantium to restore some exiles, and to quiet some troubles which had arisen at that place.

Cæsar and Pompey likewise concurred in procuring this commission to Cato, in order to remove a powerful support from the Prætors Memmius and Domitius, whose proposal to repeal all the acts of Cæsar was yet in dependance.

The storm was now prepared to fall upon the magistrate who had presided in the suppression

⁴⁴ Cicero pro Sextio.

of Cataline's party, and no man had any doubt of its direction. Cato, before he left Rome, seeing Cæsar in possession of the gates with an army, and ready, in the event of any tumult, under pretence of quieting disorders, to enter the city by force, and to seize on the government; and apprehending, that the cause in dependance, however just, was altogether desperate, earnestly exhorted Cicero, rather to yield and to withdraw from the city, than to bring matters to extremities in the present state of the republic²⁵.

Cicero, however, was for some time undecided. Having secured the support of L. Ninius Quadratus, one of the Tribunes, he proposed to obstruct the proceedings of his enemy, and to give a negative to all his motions. Afterwards, upon assurances from Clodius, that the purpose of the act was altogether general, and had no special relation to himself; he was prevailed on not to divide the college of Tribunes, or to engage his friends in the invidious task of giving a negative to a law, that was intended merely to guard the People against arbitrary proceedings²⁶.

Clodius, having obtained this advantage, no longer made any secret of his design against Cicero, and boasted of the concurrence of Cæsar and Pompey. In this neither of these professed

²⁵ Plutarch, in Catone.

²⁶ Dio, lib. xxxviii. c. 14.

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friends of Cicero denied the imputation⁸⁷; but excused themselves in private by pleading, that while their own acts of the preceding year were still questioned by the Prætor, it was necessary for them to keep terms with so violent a Tribune⁸⁸; but Pompey, together with this apology for his present conduct, gave Cicero the strongest assurances of future protection. "This Tribune," he said, "shall kill me before he injure you." It is not credible that Pompey then meant to betray him; it was sufficiently base that, in the sequel, he did not keep his word. On the contrary, when his aid came to be most wanted by his injured friend, he retired to the country, under pretence of business; and being at his villa near Alba, where Lentulus, Lucullus, and many of the most respectable Senators repaired to him with the warmest entreaties in behalf of a person to whose eloquence and panegyric he owed so many of his honors, he coldly referred them to the ordinary officers of State for protection, saying, That as a private citizen he could not contend with a furious Tribune at the head of an armed People⁸⁹.

In the mean time, the Consul Gabinus, though under the absolute direction of Pompey, promoted the attack against Cicero, and checked every attempt that was made in his favor.

⁸⁷ Cicero post Reditum in Senatum.

⁸⁸ Ibid. pro Sextio, c. 17 & 18.

⁸⁹ Cicero in Pisonem.

When the Equestrian order, together with numbers of the most respectable citizens from every quarter of Italy, crowded in mourning to Rome, and presented a memorial to the Senate in his behalf; and when the members proposed to take mourning, and to intercede with the People, Gabinius suddenly left the chair, broke up the meeting, went directly thence to the assembly of the People, where he threw out injurious insinuations against the Senate, and mentioned the meetings which had been held by the Equestrian order, as riotous and seditious tumults; said, that the Knights ought to be cautious how they revived the memory of that part which they themselves had acted in the violent measures which were now coming under review, and which were so likely to meet with a just retribution from the People.

In this extremity Cicero attempted to see Pompey in person at his country-house; but while the suppliant was entering at one door, this treacherous friend withdrew at another⁹⁰. No longer doubting that he was betrayed by a person on whom he so fully relied, he began to be agitated by a variety of counsels and projects. He was invited by Cæsar to place himself in the station of lieutenant in his province of Gaul; and, in that public character abroad, to take refuge from the storm that was gathering against him in Italy. But this, from a person who had

⁹⁰ Plutarch, in Cicerone.

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so much contributed to raise the storm, was supposed to proceed from a design to insult or betray him; at best to reduce him to a state of dependance on himself. Being attended by a numerous body of citizens, chiefly of the Equestrian order, who had taken arms in his cause, he sometimes had thoughts of defending himself by force; at other times, he despaired of his fortunes, and, as appears from his letters, proposed to kill himself; and was diverted from this intention only by the entreaties and anxious care of his friends.

Such was the state of affairs, when Clodius assembled the People to pass the act he had framed against arbitrary executions. He had summoned them to meet in the suburbs, that Cæsar, who on account of his military command was then excluded from the city, might be present. This artful politician being called upon among the first to deliver his opinion; with an appearance of moderation, and unwillingness to bear hard on any person to whom the law might apply, referred the People to his former declarations; said, that every one knew his mind on the subject of arbitrary executions; that he approved the act which was now proposed, as far as it provided against such offences for the future; but could not approve of its having a retrospect to any transaction already passed.

While Cæsar thus, in delivering his opinion, affected to go no farther than consistency and a regard to his former conduct seemed

to require, he permitted or directed his party to go every length with Clodius, and meant either to ruin Cicero, or force him to accept of protection on the terms that should be prescribed to him.

When the general law had passed, there was yet no mention of Cicero; and his enemies might have still found it a difficult matter to carry the application to him; but he himself, in the anguish of his mind, anticipated the accusation, went forth in mourning to the streets, and implored mercy of every citizen with an aspect of dejection, which probably did not encourage any party to espouse his cause. He was frequently met in this condition, and insulted by Clodius, who was walking in the streets, attended by an armed rabble; and he determined at last to abandon the city. Being escorted by a company of his friends, he passed through the gates in the middle of the night on the first of April, took the road of Lucania, and intended to have made his retreat into Sicily, where the memory of his administration in the capacity of Quæstor, and the continued effects of his patronage at Rome, were likely to procure him a favorable reception⁹¹. But Clodius, immediately upon his departure, having carried a special attainder, by which, in the language of such acts, he was interdicted the use of fire and water; and by which every person within five

⁹¹ Vid. *Actionem in Verrem*.

B O O K hundred miles of Italy was forbid, under severe penalties, to harbour him; Virgilius, the Prætor of Sicily, though his friend, declined to receive him. He turned from thence to Brundisium, passed into Macedonia, and would have fixed his residence at Athens; but apprehending that this place was within the distance prescribed to him by the act of banishment, he went to Thessalonica in his way to Cyzicum. Here he had letters, that gave him intimation of some change in his favor, entertained some prospect of being speedily recalled, and accordingly determined to wait the issue of these hopes.

We have better means of knowing the frailties of Cicero, than perhaps is safe for the reputation of any one laboring under the ordinary defects of human nature. He was open and undisguised to his friends, and has left an extensive correspondence behind him. Expressions of vanity in some passages of his life, of pusillanimity in others, escape him with uncommon facility. Being at least of a querulous and impatient temper, he gives it full scope in his exile, perhaps not more from weakness, than from design to excite his friends to redouble their efforts to have him restored. He knew the value of fortitude as a topic of praise, and might have aspired to it; but would it not, he may have questioned, encourage his party to sleep over his wrongs? In any other view, his complaints resemble more the wailings of an infant, or the strains of a tragedy composed to draw tears, than

the language of a man supporting the cause of integrity in the midst of undeserved trouble. CHAP. V.

"I wish I may see the day," he writes to Atticus, "in which I shall be disposed to thank you for having prevailed upon me not to lay violent hands on myself; for it is certainly now matter of bitter regret to me that I yielded to you in that matter".

In answer to the same friend who had chid him for want of fortitude, "What species of evil," he says, "do I not endure? Did ever any person fall from so high a state? in so good a cause? with such abilities and knowledge? with so much public esteem? with the support of such a respectable order of citizens? Can I remember what I was, and not feel what I am? Stript of so many honors, cut off in the career of so much glory, deprived of such a fortune, tore from the arms of such children, debarred the view of such a brother, dearer to me than I was to myself, yet now debarred from my presence, that I may spare him what he must suffer from such a sight, and myself what I must feel in being the cause of so much misery to him. I could say more of a load of evils which is too heavy for me to bear; but I am stopped by my tears".

From the whole of this correspondence of Cicero in his exile, we may collect to what

⁹¹ Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. epist. 3.

⁹² Ibid. epist. 30.

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degree the unjust reproaches which he had suffered, the desertion of those on whom he relied for support, the dangers to which he left his family exposed, affected his mind. The consciousness of his integrity, even his vanity forsook him; and his fine genius, no longer employed in the Forum or in the Senate, or busied in the literary studies which amused him afterwards²⁴ in a more calamitous time of the republic, now, by exaggerating the distress of his fortunes, preyed upon himself. It appeared from this, and many other scenes of his life, that although he loved virtuous actions, yet his virtue was accompanied with so unsatiated a thirst of the praise to which it entitled him, that his mind was unable to sustain itself without this foreign assistance; and when the praise which was due to his Consulship was changed into obloquy and scorn, he seems to have lost the sense of good or of evil in his own conduct or character; and at Thessalonica, where he fixed the scene of his exile, sunk or rose in his own esteem, as he seemed to be valued or neglected at Rome²⁵.

²⁴ See the Book of Tusculan Questions.

²⁵ Vid. Cicero ad Att. lib. iii.

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Cæsar takes Possession of his Province. — Migration of the Helvetii. — Their Defeat. — War with Ariovistus. — Return of Cæsar for the Winter into Italy. — Great Concourſe of Citizens to his Quarters. — Motion to recal Cicero. — Disorders that followed upon it. — Consultations of Pompey and Cæsar. — Augmentation of the Army in Gaul. — Second Campaign of Cæsar. — Operations on the Aisne. — On the Meuse and Sambre. — Battle with the Nervii. — Successful Attempt for the Restoration of Cicero. — Controversy relating to his House. — Repeated Riots of Clodius. — Trial of Milo.

WHILE the transaction which terminated in the exile of Cicero was still in dependance, Cæsar, although, by assuming the military character, he had disqualified himself to take any part in civil affairs, had actually gone from the city and embodied his legions, yet he still remained in the suburbs of Rome to observe the issue of that business, and to direct the conduct of his party. He thought himself too much interested in the event to leave it entirely under the direction of Pompey, with whom his own connexion was

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precarious, and might be of short duration. He was inclined to ruin, if he could, not gain, a person whose talents and character made him of so much consequence to the parties who contended for power in the State. Having failed in his attempt to gain him as a dependant, and to carry him as part of his own retinue into Gaul, he secretly promoted the designs of Clodius, and employed his own retainers and friends against him, until he saw the purpose accomplished.

The provinces of which Cæsar had obtained the command, comprehended, as has been observed, under the denomination of the two Gauls, considerable territories on both sides of the Alps. The Cisalpine Gaul, which was joined to Italy, extended to Lucca, not far from Pisa on one side of the Apennines, and to the Rubicon, not far from Ariminum on the other. Beyond the Alps, the whole territory from the Mediterranean to the Rhine and the Meuse, was known by the name of Gaul. A part of this tract, which was bounded by the Rhône, the mountains of Auvergne, the Garonne, and the Pyrenees, was already a Roman province, including, together with Languedoc and Dauphiné, what, from its early subjection to the Romans, is still named Provence.

The remainder of the country was divided into three principal parts, occupied by the Aquitani, the Celtes, and the Belgæ, nations differing in language, establishments, and customs. The first division extended from the Pyrenees to the Garonne;

the second from the Garonne to the Seine; and the third from thence to the Meuse and the Scheld. CHAP.
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In each of these tracts there was a multiplicity of separate cantons and independent communities, of which Cæsar had occasion to enumerate no less than four hundred. Even the smallest of these communities, by his account, was broken into parties and factions, who had separate objects, and were engaged in opposition to each other. The People, in general, well held in a state of dependance by two separate orders of men, whose condition and character may account for the manifold divisions and animosities that took place in their country. One order was ecclesiastical, composed of the Druids, who, by their profession, had the keeping of such mysteries, and the performance of such rites as were then in use; and, having over their fellow-citizens the claim to a hierarchy, had, among themselves, in the various pretensions to preferment and rank in their own order, continual subjects of competition, jealousy, and quarrels.

The other order was entirely military, and consisted of persons whose principal distinction arose from the number of their armed adherents; and, who, therefore, vied with each other in the multitude of their retainers, or in the force of their parties¹.

The country, we learn, in general, was interspersed

¹ Cæsar. de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. c. 10—20.

BOOK with what are called towns, and what were, in
 III. reality, safe retreats, or places of strength. It abounded in corn and cattle, the resources of a numerous people; armies were collected, and political assemblies were statedly, or occasionally called: but how the people were accommodated, or in what degree they were supplied with the ordinary productions of mechanic or commercial arts, is no where described.

In these particulars, however, as they were probably less skilful than the Italians, so they surpassed the Germans, to whom they yielded in the reputation of valor; and they were now in reality on the eve of becoming a prey to the rapacity and ferocity of the one, or to the ambition, refined policy, and superior arts of the other.

Among parties, who were already so numerous, and likely to be divided infinitely by family or personal jealousies, Cæsar was about to find the occasions, which he undoubtedly sought for, of raising his reputation in war, of enriching himself and his dependants, and of forming an army inured to service, and attached to himself. While he was yet in Italy, he had intimation of a wonderful project formed by the Helvetii, natives of the tract which extends from the Jura to the Alps, and of the vallies which divide those mountains, to quit their own country in order to exchange it for a better settlement, in a less inclement region, on the lower and more fertile plains of Gaul.

They had taken, for this purpose, an exact

account of their own numbers in every canton, and mustered no less than three hundred and fifty-eight thousand souls, of whom ninety-two thousand were warriors, or men fit to bear arms. To put this multitude in motion, a great apparatus of provisions, of horses, and of carriages was necessary; and they allotted two years for the necessary preparations. This time was now elapsed, and the swarm began to dislodge on the twenty-fifth of March of the year in which Cæsar was to take possession of his province. On receiving the alarm, he set out from Italy, and with hasty journies arrived at Geneva, where, to prevent surprise, he broke down the bridge of the Rhône, and took other measures to preclude the access of strangers to his province.

In the mean time the Helvetians sent a pacific message, desiring, that they might be allowed to pass the Rhône, and giving assurances that they would abstain from every sort of hostility on their march through the Roman province. Cæsar, in order to gain time, affected to take their request into consideration, promised to give them an answer by the middle of April; and in this manner amused them, while he assembled the legion that was dispersed in different parts of the province, and ordered new levies to be made with the greatest dispatch. At the same time, he fortified the banks of the river, from the lake of Geneva, to the narrow pass², at

² Fort l'Ecluse.

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which the Rhône enters between the Jura and Vuache, and from thence running under cliffs and steep mountains, renders the access from Helvetia to Gaul either impracticable or easily obstructed.

Being thus prepared for his defence, he, on the return of the Helvetian deputies, gave them for answer, That the Romans never allowed strangers to pass through their country; and that if any attempt were made on his province, he should repel it by force. Upon receiving this answer, the Helvetians, though too late, endeavoured to effect the passage of the Rhône, and made repeated attacks, either where the river was fordable, or where it admitted the use of rafts or of boats, but were repulsed in every attempt, and were at last obliged to turn to the right, where, by the consent of the Sequani, their neighbours in that part of the country, they passed over the Jura into Gaul.

Cæsar, probably not more alarmed for the safety of his province, than desirous to render it a scene of action, determined to observe the migrations of this enemy, and to seize the occasion they furnished him of forming his troops to service. For this purpose he himself, in person, repassed the Alps, and without any regard to the limitations of his commission, which restricted his military establishment to three legions, ordered additional levies, and with the forces assembled near Aquileia, returned to his northern province. In this march he met with opposition from the

inhabitants of the mountains, who endeavoured to obstruct his way: but he had traversed the country of the Allobroges, and passed the Rhône above its confluence with the Saone³, when he had intelligence that the Helvetii, having cleared the passes of Jura, and marched through the country of the Sequani, were arrived on the Saone; and although they had hitherto, agreeably to their stipulations with the natives, abstained from hostilities, that they threatened the nations inhabiting beyond this river with fire and sword.

Upon application made to him for protection from the natives inhabiting between the Saone and the Loire, this willing auxiliary continued his march; and being informed, that of the Helvetii, who had moved in four divisions (this being the number of their cantons), the three first had already passed the Saone; and that the fourth division being to follow, yet remained on the nearer bank of the river, he marched in the night with three legions, surprised this rear-division; and having put many of them to the sword, forced the remainder to take refuge in the neighbouring woods.

As soon as the main body of Cæsar's army arrived on the Saone, he constructed a bridge, and passed that river in his way to the enemy. The Helvetians, sensible of their loss in the late action, and alarmed at the rapidity of his motions, he

³ Then the Arar.

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having executed in one day the passage of a river which had detained them above ninety days, sent a deputation to treat with the Roman Proconsul, and to obtain, if possible, his permission to execute their project of a new settlement on amicable terms. They offered, in case they were allowed to sit down in quiet, to leave the choice of the place to himself; bidding him remember, at the same time, that “the arms of the Helvetii had, on former occasions, been felt by the Romans. That the recent fate of a single canton taken by surprise ought not to flatter him too much: that the Helvetians had learned from their fathers to rely more on valor than on artifice or on negociation; but that they did not wish to have their present migration signalized with any massacres, nor their new settlement stained with Roman blood.”

To this message, Cæsar replied, “That he could recollect to have heard of insults which had been offered to the Romans by their nation, and to which they now probably alluded: that he likewise had more recent provocations which he knew how to resent: nevertheless, if they meant to comply with his demand, to repair the injuries they had done to the Allobroges^{*} and to the Edui[†], and to give hostages

^{*} Inhabitants of what is now the territory of Geneva, and part of Savoy.

[†] Occupying the country between the Saone and the Loire.

“ for their future behaviour, that he was willing
“ to grant them peace.”

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Upon this reply the Helvetian deputies withdrew, saying, That it was the practice of their countrymen to receive, not to give hostages; and both armies moved on the following day: the Helvetians, in search of some quarter where they might settle without interruption; and Cæsar, to observe their motions, and to restrain them from plundering the country of his allies. Both continued on the same route during fifteen days, with no more than an interval of five or six miles between the front of one army and the rear of the other.

On this march Cæsar's cavalry, having rashly engaged themselves on unfavorable ground, received a check; and he himself, being obliged to follow the course of the Saone, by which he received his provisions, was likely to lose sight of the enemy, when he had intelligence, that they had taken post at the foot of a hill, about eight miles in his front, and seemed to have formed a resolution to receive him, in that position, if he should chuse to attack them. Having examined the ground on which they were posted, and observing, that the height in their rear was not by nature inaccessible, nor sufficiently secured against him, he dispatched Labienus in the night at the head of two legions, with orders to possess himself of the eminence, and to fall down from thence on the enemy's rear whenever he saw them attacked by himself in front. Labienus accordingly got possession of

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be able to provide for themselves. The Boii however, a part of this unfortunate migration, were received by the Edui, who, to gain this accession of people, allotted part of their own lands to accommodate these strangers^{*}.

At the end of this first operation of Cæsar, while great part of the summer yet remained, another service on which to employ his army soon presented itself. The nations who inhabited the banks of the Saone and the Loire, being sensible of the deliverance they had received from a storm, which, by the uncertainty of its direction, alarmed every quarter of Gaul, sent deputies to congratulate the Roman General on his late victory, and to propose that they might hold, under his protection, a general convention of all their states. The object of their meeting, as it soon appeared, was to obtain some relief from the common oppression they underwent from the tyranny of Ariovistus, a German chief, who, when the Gauls were at war among themselves, had been invited as an auxiliary to one of the parties, and had obtained the victory for his allies; but took for the reward of his services possession of one third of their territory, which he bestowed on his own people, and assumed for himself the sovereignty of the whole. His force was daily augmented by the continual arrival of more emigrants from Germany; so that, from fifteen thousand men, with whom the Chief had

^{*} Cæf. de Bell. Gal. lib. i. c. 28, 29.

B O O K arrived, his followers had multiplied to a hundred and twenty thousand. To accommodate this numerous people, he had recently made a demand of another third of the territory of the Sequani, and was extending his possessions from the neighbourhood of the Rhine to the Saone. Most of the nations on this tract had been obliged to submit to a contribution levied by these strangers, and to give hostages for the regular payment of it.

III. The unfortunate nations, who, by trusting to the protection of a barbarous prince, had exposed themselves to this calamity, now applied for relief to another power, whose pretensions in the end were likely to be equally dangerous to their freedom. Sensible of the hazard to which they exposed their hostages by entering into any open concert against the Germans, they made their application to Cæsar in secret, and found him sufficiently willing to embrace every opportunity of rendering his province a theatre of action to his army, and of renown to himself. He sent without delay a message to Ariovistus, desiring to have a conference with him on affairs that concerned the general interests of Gaul. This haughty chieftain replied with disdain, "That if the Roman General meant to have an interview with him, his place of residence was known; that he neither could trust himself in the quarters of Cæsar, without an army, nor would be at the expense of assembling one, merely for the satisfaction of a conference with him."

Cæsar renewed the message with an express requisition that the hostages of the Edui should be restored ; that Ariovistus should abstain from hostilities against this People , or against any other ally of the Romans ; and that he should not suffer any more of his countrymen to pass the Rhine.

To this message Ariovistus replied , That he had conquered the possessions which he held in Gaul , and that he knew of no power who had a right to direct him in the use of his conquests ; that whoever attacked him should do so at his peril ; and that Cæsar , if he thought proper , might try the spirit of his people ; they were ready to receive him , and had not for fourteen years slept under any cover.

Cæsar , not to seem backward in accepting this challenge , and in compliance with a maxim which he often observed with success , *That his blows should anticipate his threats , and outrun the expectations of his enemy* , advanced upon the Germans before they could think him in condition to act against them. For this purpose , without communicating his design to any person of his own army , he repassed the Saone , and ascended by the course of the Doux to Vesontio , now Besançon , a place of strength , which he understood Ariovistus meant to seize , as the principal resort of his forces.

Here , for the first time , his intention of making war on the Germans began to be suspected in his own army ; and the legions , taking their

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account of the strength and ferocity of that enemy from the report of the Gaulish auxiliaries, were greatly alarmed. Many citizens of distinction who had crowded to the standard of Cæsar, as to a place of victory and honor, now, under various pretences, applied for leave to retire. Their example spread a kind of panic in the army, and both officers and men muttered their resolution not to obey, if they should be ordered upon what they were pleased to consider as a service so unreasonable and wild.

Cæsar, being thus called upon to exert that undaunted courage and masterly eloquence by which he was distinguished on many occasions, assembled all the officers of his army, and reprimanded them for attempting to penetrate the designs of their general, or for pretending to question the propriety of his motions. The matter in dispute with Ariovistus, he said, might be terminated in an amicable manner. This chieftain had very lately made advances of friendship to the Romans, had been favorably received, and there was no reason to believe that he would now wantonly provoke their resentment. “ But if he
“ should, of whom are you afraid? Of a wretched
“ remnant of the Cimbri or Teutones, already
“ vanquished by Marius? Of a people confessedly
“ inferior to the Helvetians, whom you have
“ subdued? But some of you, I am told, in
“ order to disguise your own fears under the
“ affectation of wisdom, talk of difficulties in the
“ ways by which you are to pass, and of the

“ want of provisions which you are likely to
“ suffer. I am not now to learn from such per-
“ sons as you what I owe to my trust, nor to be
“ told that an army must be supplied with pro-
“ visions. But our allies are ready to supply us
“ in greater quantities than we can consume,
“ and the very country we are to pass is covered
“ with ripe corn. As for the roads, you shall
“ speedily see and judge of them. I am little
“ affected with what I hear of a design to abandon
“ me in case I persist in this expedition. Such
“ insults, I know, have been offered to com-
“ manders, who, by their avarice or by their
“ miscarriages, had forfeited the regard or the con-
“ fidence of their troops; what will happen to me,
“ a little time will discover. I meant to have,
“ made a longer halt at this place, but shall not
“ defer giving you an opportunity to show,
“ whether regard to your duty, or the fear of a
“ supposed enemy, is to have the greatest effect
“ on your minds. I mean to-morrow, at two in
“ the morning, to decamp, and shall proceed, if
“ no other part of the army follows me, with
“ the tenth legion alone.”

This speech had a very sudden effect. The tenth legion, having been formerly distinguished by their general, felt this expression of confidence as an additional motive to deserve it, and sent a deputation of their officers to return their thanks. The whole army soon vied in excuses for their late misbehaviour, and in assurances of their resolution to support their general in any service

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on which he might be pleased to employ them. He accordingly decamped at the hour appointed; and making a circuit of forty miles, to avoid some difficulties which lay on the direct road, after a continual march of seven days, in which he was conducted by Divitiacus, a native of Gaul, he arrived within twenty-four miles of the German quarters.

Upon this unexpected arrival, Ariovistus, in his turn, thought proper to desire a conference with Cæsar. He proposed that they should meet on horseback, and be attended only by cavalry. In this part of his army, which was composed chiefly of Gaulish horse, Cæsar was weak. But, not to decline the proposal that was made to him, he mounted his supposed favorite legion on the horses of the Gauls, and with this escort came to the place appointed for the conference.

It was an eminence in the midst of a spacious plain, about halfway between the two armies. The leaders, each attended by ten of his officers, met at the top of the hill. Their escorts drew up at the distance of two hundred yards on each side.

Cæsar began the conference, by reminding Ariovistus of the honors recently bestowed upon him by the Roman Senate, who ordered him the usual presents, and gave him the title of king. "The Edui," he said, "were the allies of the Roman People; they had formed this connexion in the height of their prosperity,"
"and

“ and when they were supposed to be at the head
 “ of the Gaulish nations ; that it was not the
 “ custom of the Romans to let nations suffer by
 “ their alliance , but to render it in every in-
 “ stance, to the party who embraced it, a source
 “ of prosperity and honor. He therefore re-
 “ newed his former requisition, that Ariovistus
 “ should not make war on the Edui, or on any
 “ nation in alliance with Rome; that he should
 “ remit their tribute , and release their hostages;
 “ and, if he could not send back into their own
 “ country such of the Germans as were already
 “ on this side of the Rhine , that he should at
 “ least prevent the arrival of any more from that
 “ quarter.”

In answer to these propositions, Ariovistus re-
 plied, That he had been invited into Gaul by
 the natives of this country ; that he had done
 them services, and had exacted no more than a
 just reward ; that , in the late quarrel betwixt
 them and himself , the Gauls had been the ag-
 gressors, and had suffered no more than the usual
 consequences of a defeat, that to indemnify him
 for his losses, they had subjected themselves to a
 tribute, and had given hostages for the regular
 payment of it. “ Am not I too,” he said, “ by
 “ your own account , in alliance with the Ro-
 “ mans? Why should that alliance, which is a
 “ safeguard and an honor to every one else, be
 “ a loss and a misfortune to me? Must I alone,
 “ to preserve this alliance, resign the advantage
 “ of treaties, and remit the payments that are

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“ due to me? No; let me rather be considered
 “ as an enemy than as an ally upon these condi-
 “ tions. My countrymen have passed the Rhine,
 “ not to oppress the Gauls, but to defend their
 “ leader. If strangers are to be admitted here,
 “ the Germans, as the first occupiers, have a
 “ right prior to that of the Romans. But we
 “ have each of us our province. What do Ro-
 “ man armies on my territory? I disturb no pos-
 “ session of yours. Must I account to you like-
 “ wise for the use which I make of my own?”

To this pointed reply, Ariovistus subjoined a reflection, which showed that he was not unacquainted with the state of parties at Rome. “ I know,” he said, “ that the Romans are not interested in this quarrel, and that, by cutting you off, I should perform an acceptable service to many of your countrymen. But I shall take no part in your internal divisions. Leave me; make war where you please; I shall not interpose in any matter which does not concern myself.”

Cæsar continued to plead the engagements which the Romans had contracted with many of the nations who now claimed their protection. “ If conquest could give any right to possession,” he said, “ we are the first conquerors. We have long since subdued the Arverni; but it is not our practice to enslave every nation we vanquish, much less to forsake those we have once patronized.” While he yet spoke the German horse had advanced, and even began to throw

darts, which made it expedient for Cæsar to break up the conference. He accordingly withdrew, giving strict orders to his people not to return the insults of the enemy.

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In a few days after this conference, the German chieftain proposed another personal interview, or, if that were declined, desired that some person of confidence should be sent with whom he might treat. Being gratified in the second part of this alternative, but intending no more by this request than a mere feint to lull the enemy into some degree of security, he pretended to take offence at the quality of the persons who were sent to him, ordered them into custody, and on the same day put his army in motion upon a real design, which showed that, barbarian as he was, he understood the plan, as well as the execution, of military operations. Observing that the Romans derived their subsistence from the country behind them, he made a movement, by which he passed their camp, took a strong post about eleven miles in their rear, and by this means intercepted their ordinary supply of provisions.

Cæsar for many days successively endeavoured, by forming on the plain between the two armies, to provoke the enemy to a battle; but having failed in this purpose, he was obliged to divide his army, and to place it in separate posts, which he fortified, in order to recover a communication with the country behind him. He learned that the Germans had borne with great

BOOK III. impatience the defiances he had given them ; but that they were restrained from fighting by the predictions of their women, who foretold that their own people would be defeated, if they should hazard a battle before the change of the moon.

The Germans, notwithstanding the awe in which they stood of this prediction, endeavoured to dislodge one of the divisions of Cæsar's army, and having failed in that attempt, were afterwards attacked by the Romans in their camp, and defeated with great slaughter. Ariovistus himself, with the remains of his followers, fled to the Rhine, about fifty miles from the field of battle, passed that river in a small canoe; numbers of his people perished in attempting to follow him, and the greater part of those who remained were overtaken, and put to the sword by Cæsar's cavalry.

In this manner Cæsar concluded his first campaign in Gaul. And laid the foundation of his future conquests in that country, by stating himself as the protector of its native inhabitants against the Helvetii and the Germans, two powerful invaders who were likely to subdue it. He placed his army for the winter among the nations whom he had thus taken under his protection, and set out for Italy, under pretence of attending to the affairs of his province on that side of the Alps; but more probably to be near to Rome, where he had many political interests at stake, friends to support, and enemies to oppose,

in their canvass for the offices of State. His head-quarters were fixed at Lucca, the nearest part of his province to Rome; and that place began to be frequented by numbers who were already of his party, or who desired to be admitted into it, and with whom he had previously made his own terms in stipulating the returns they were to make for the several preferments in which he undertook to assist them.

At the election of Consuls for this year, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was joined with Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos, of whom the latter had, in the capacity of Tribune, distinguished himself as an instrument of the most dangerous factions. Lentulus had lately attached himself entirely to Pompey, and, by the influence of this patron, probably now prevailed in his election. He had been Ædile in the Consulate of Cicero, and had taken a vigorous part in those very measures for which Cicero was now suffering in exile⁷. He was likely to favor the restoration of that injured citizen, and upon this account was now the more acceptable to Pompey, who, having an open rupture with Clodius, was disposed to mortify him by espousing the cause of his enemies.

Clodius, soon after his late victory over Cicero greatly rose in his presumption, and, forgetting that he had prevailed more by the connivance of Pompey and Cæsar, and by the support of their

⁷ Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. ep. 22.

B O O K friends, than by any influence of his own, ventured to set Pompey himself at defiance, to question the validity of his acts in the late settlement of Asia, to set the young Tigranes, still the prisoner of Pompey, at liberty^{*}, and proposed to restore him again to his kingdom. In the debates which arose on these measures in the assembly of the People, Pompey had the mortification to find that the sarcasms of Clodius were received by the audience in general with applause, as well as by the partisans of the Senate, in particular, with marks of satisfaction. Chiefly governed by vanity and impatient of obloquy, he absented himself from the public assemblies during the remainder of Clodius' term in office, and was ready to embrace every measure by which he might be revenged of that factious Tribune, or regain his own credit with the more respectable class of citizens[†].

Encouraged by this division among their enemies, the majority of the Senate, who justly considered the cause of Cicero as their own, had ventured, on the twenty-ninth of October, while Clodius was yet in office, to move for his recall. Eight of the tribunes concurred in urging this motion, and it was rejected only in consequence of the negative of Ælius Ligur, one of the college, whom Clodius had prepared to act this part, and

^{*} Vid. Afcon. Pædian. in Orat. pro Milone.

[†] Plutarch, in Vit. Cicer. p. 475 & 476.

whom he was ready to support by force, if the opposite party should persist in their motion ¹⁰. C H A P.
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Upon the election of the new Consuls and Tribunes for the following year, better hopes of success were entertained by the friends of Cicero. Lentulus declared that the restoration of this exile should be the first object of his administration; and that he would not fail to move it on the day that he entered on office. Metellus too, the brother-in-law of Clodius, though always inclined to favor the popular faction, could not in this matter set himself in opposition to Pompey, and declared his intention to concur with the Consul ¹¹. Milo, Sextius, and six more of the Tribunes, with all the Prætors except Appius Claudius, the brother of Publius, declared their intention to take an active part in forwarding this measure.

Encouraged by these appearances, Cicero left his retreat at Theffalonica, and arrived at Dyrrachium, before the twenty-fifth of November, to be at hand to consult with his friends on the steps that were to be previously taken. Mean time the Consuls-elect had their provinces assigned. Lentulus was destined to command in Cilicia and Cyprus, and Metellus in the farther province of Spain. Both were amply gratified in every article of their appointments, in order to confirm them in the interest

¹⁰ Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. ep. 23.

¹¹ Ibid. ep. 24.

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U. C. 696.
P. Corn.
Lentulus
Spinther,
Q. Cæcil.
Metell. Ne-
pos.

of the Senate: but Cicero expressed great anxiety lest these concessions should be found premature; and, being made before the new Tribunes entered on office, or could have their voice in these destinations, was afraid lest it might alienate their affections from his party, and render them less zealous to move for his recall. The Consul Lentulus, notwithstanding, kept his word; and, on the first of January, the day of his entering on office, moved the Senate to resolve that Cicero should be immediately recalled from banishment; that all persons opposing his return should be declared enemies to their country; and that if the People should be disturbed by violence in passing this decree, it should, nevertheless, be lawful for the exile to avail himself of it¹².

This motion was received in the Senate with general applause. Eight of the Tribunes were zealous in support of it. On the contrary, two members of the college, Numerius and Serranus, were gained by Clodius to oppose it. Serranus, however, could venture no farther at this meeting than to plead for a delay. But he was prevailed upon, during the intervening night, to interpose his negative, and the motion accordingly could proceed no farther in the Senate.

It was resolved, notwithstanding, to propose a law to the People for Cicero's restoration; and a day was fixed for this purpose. Early in the

¹² Cicero ad Att. lib. iii. ep. 26. & in Orat. post reditum.

morning of that day Fabricius, one of the Tribunes in the interest of the exile, endeavoured to occupy the place of assembly with an armed force, but found that Clodius, with a numerous troop of gladiators, was there before him. A conflict ensued, in which Fabricius, together with Cispus, another of the Tribunes who came to his assistance, with all the party of the Senate, were driven from the Forum.

Clodius, at the head of his gladiators, with swords already stained in blood, pursued his victory through the streets. The temple of the Nymphs, in which were kept some public records which he wished to destroy, was set on fire¹³; the houses of Milo and Cæcilius the Prætor were attacked. "The streets, the common sewers, the river," says Cicero, "were filled with dead bodies, and all the pavements were stained with blood." No such scene had been acted since the times of Octavius and Cinna, when armies fought in the city for the dominion of the empire¹⁴.

Quintus Cicero escaped by hiding himself under the dead bodies of his own servants, who were slain in defending his house. The Tribune Publius Sextius actually fell into the hands of his enemies, received many wounds, and was left for dead among the slain. This circumstance,

¹³ Cicero pro Milone, 27 Parad. 4. de Haruspicum Responf. 27.

¹⁴ Orat. pro Sext. c. 35, 36. 38.

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III. than it alarmed his opponents. The odium of having murdered, or even violated the person of a Tribune, was likely to ruin their interest with the People; and they proposed to balance this outrage by putting to death Numerius, another Tribune, who, being of their own side, should appear to be killed by the opposite party; but the intended victim of this ridiculous and sanguinary artifice, receiving information of their design, avoided being made the tool of a party at the expense of his life, and made his escape¹⁵.

After so strange a disorder, parties for some months, mutually afraid of each other, abstained from violence. The Tribune Milo commenced a prosecution against Clodius for his crimes; but it was for some time eluded by the authority of Appius Claudius, brother of the accused, who was now in the office of Prætor; and the courts, when actually called, were repeatedly dispersed by the armed party of gladiators, with which Publius Clodius himself infested every public place. It was vain to oppose him without being prepared to employ a similar force, and Milo accordingly had recourse to this method. He purchased a troop of gladiators, and of Bestiarii, or baiters of wild beasts, the remainder of those who had been employed by the Ædiles Pomponius and Cosconius, and who were now in the market for sale. He

¹⁵ Cicero pro Sextio.

ordered the bargain to be secretly struck, concealing the name of the buyer, lest the opposite party, suspecting the design, should interpose to prevent him.

So provided, Milo ventured to encounter with Clodius. Their parties frequently engaged in the streets, and the populace, fond of such shows, enjoyed the spectacle which was presented to them in every corner of the city ¹⁶.

While the disorders which thus arose from the disputes relating to Cicero's restoration were daily augmenting, he himself fell from the height of his hopes to his former pitch of dejection and sorrow. The attempt which had been made in his favor might have succeeded, if Pompey had been fully prepared to concur in it. But all the measures of the Triumvirate being concerted at the quarters of Cæsar, Pompey was obliged, after declaring his own inclinations on the subject, to consult his associate, and found him by no means inclined to restore a citizen who was likely to be of so much consequence, and who was to owe the favor of his restoration to any other than himself. The Tribune Sextius, before the late dissolution, had made a journey into Gaul, to obtain the consent of Cæsar to this measure, but could not prevail; and it is probable that this artful politician was unwilling to restore an exile who was likely to ascribe the principal merit of that service to Pompey, and, by his own

¹⁶ Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 2.

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III. accession to a party which Cæsar wished to degrade and to weaken by every means in his power. It was to strengthen himself against the Senate that Cæsar made his coalition with Pompey and Crassus; and from animosity to this body, he wished to crush every person of consequence to their party, and to favor the pretensions of every ambitious citizen who ventured to act in open defiance of their government.

Pompey, in the mean time, though committing himself as a tool into the hands of Cæsar, was flattered with the appearance of sovereignty which he enjoyed in the city, and willingly supported Cæsar in every measure that seemed to fix his attention abroad, consented to the repeated augmentations of the army in Gaul, and approved of every enterprize in which their leader was pleased to employ them.

In this year, which was the second of Cæsar's command, two more additional legions were by his orders levied in Italy; and, under pretence of an approaching war with the Belgæ, a nation consisting of many cantons in the northern extremities of Gaul, this reinforcement was made to pass the Alps to the northward in the spring. As soon as the forage was up, he himself followed in person, took the field, and, in the usual spirit of his conduct, endeavoured, by the rapidity of his motions, to frustrate or to prevent the designs of his enemies.

His force now consisted of eight Roman legions,

besides numerous bodies of horse and foot from different cantons in Gaul, archers from Crete and Numidia, and slingers from the Balearian islands; so that it is likely the whole may have amounted to about sixty thousand men. The greater part of his army had wintered on the Saone¹⁷ and the Doux¹⁸, as protectors, not as masters, of the country, being received only in the character of allies. Cæsar having now taken numbers of their people into his army as auxiliaries or as hostages, and having spent twelve days in preparing for his march, took his route to the northward, under the pretence of carrying the war into the enemy's country, or of preventing them from gaining, to their supposed confederacy against the Romans, any of the nations in the southern parts of Gaul.

His way lay through the high, though level, countries, now termed Burgundy and Champagne, in which the Saone, the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Seine, with so many other considerable rivers that run into different directions have their source. After a march of fifteen days, he arrived in the Canton of the Remi¹⁹, where he found a people, though of the Belgic extraction, disposed to receive him as a friend, and to place themselves under his protection.

From this people he had a confirmation of his

¹⁷ Anciently named the Arar.

¹⁸ The Dubis.

¹⁹ Now the district of Rheims.

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former intelligence relating to the designs of the Belgic nations, and an account of the forces which they had already assembled. From the track of country that is watered by the rivers, which are now called the Oise, the Scheld, and the Meuse, he understood that no less than three hundred and fifty thousand men could be mustered, and were actually assembled, or preparing to assemble, against him. To prevent the junction of this formidable power, or to distract part of its force, he detached his Gaulish auxiliaries to make a diversion on the Oise²⁰, while he himself advanced to the Aisne²¹, passed this river, and fortified a station on its northern bank. Having a bridge in his rear, he left six cohorts properly intrenched before it, to secure his communication with the country behind him.

While he remained in this post, the Belgæ advanced with a great army, attacked Bibrax, a place of strength about eight miles in his front; and having spent many hours in endeavouring to reduce it, were about to renew their assault on the following day. But Cæsar having, in the night, thrown into the garrison a considerable reinforcement of archers and slingers, the appearance of this additional strength on the battlements induced the enemy to desist.

²⁰ Jafara.

²¹ Axona.

They nevertheless continued to advance, laid waste the country, and came within two miles of his camp. They had a front, as appeared from their fires, extending about eight miles.

Cæsar, considering the numbers and reputation of his enemy, thought proper to proceed with caution. He observed them for some days from his intrenchments, and made several trials of their skill in partial encounters, before he ventured to offer them battle. But being encouraged by the event of these trials, he chose a piece of sloping ground that lay before his camp, and was fit to receive his army. As the enemies' front was likely to extend farther than his, he threw up intrenchments on the right and left to cover his flanks; and with this security, to prevent his being surrounded, drew forth his army. The Belgæ too were formed on their part; but the ground between the two armies being marshy, neither thought proper to pass that impediment in presence of the other; and after a few skirmishes of the horse and irregular troops the Romans re-entered their camp. The enemy, upon this event, disappointed in their expectations of a battle, took their way to the fords of the Aisne, in order to pass the river, and get possession of the bridge in the rear of the Romans. Cæsar had intelligence of this movement from the officer who was stationed to guard that post; and marching instantly with all the cavalry, archers, and slingers of the army, he arrived in time to overtake

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them, while yet entangled in the fords, and obliged them to retire.

The Belgæ, having made these successive attempts with much impetuosity, but without proper foresight, soon appeared to be ill qualified to maintain a permanent war with such an enemy. They were disheartened by their disappointments, and alarmed by the rumor of a diversion which Cæsar had caused to be made in a part of their own country. They had exhausted their provisions, and found themselves under a necessity to break up their camp. It was therefore resolved in their general council, that their forces, for the present, should separate; and if any of their cantons should be afterwards attacked by Cæsar, that the whole should assemble again for their common defence.

With this resolution they decamped in the night, but with so much noise and disorder that Cæsar suspected a feint, or an intention to draw him into a snare. He therefore remained in his lines till the morning, when it appeared that they were actually gone, and were seen at a distance on the plain moving in the greatest disorder, and as in a total rout, striving who should soonest get beyond the reach of their enemies. He pursued them with his cavalry so long as it was day, and, though with great bravery resisted in his attacks on their rear, made considerable havock. At the approach of night he discontinued the pursuit, and withdrew again to the camp he left in the morning. On the following day
he

he moved with his whole army, and, that the enemy might not have time to re-assemble their forces, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. In the beginning of his march he followed the course of the Aisne, and in his way reduced the Sueffones and Bellovaci, two cantons that lay on the right and the left, near the confluence of this river with the Oise. From thence, being himself to march to the northward, to visit the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse, he detached the young Crassus, with a considerable force, towards the sea coasts, to occupy those cantons which now form the provinces of Normandy and Brittany.

Part of the country through which the Meuse and the Sambre passed, now forming the dutchy of Hainault, was then occupied by the Nervii, one of the fiercest of the Belgic nations, who, having heard with indignation of the surrender of the Bellovaci and Sueffones, their neighbours, prepared for resistance, sent such of their people as, by their sex or age, were unfit to carry arms into a place of security, assembled all their warriors, and summoned their allies to a place of general resort. They took post on the Sambre, where the heights on both sides of the river being covered with woods, enabled them to conceal their numbers and their dispositions. They had intelligence that Cæsar, except in presence of an enemy, usually moved his legions with intervals between them, which were occupied by their baggage; and they made a disposition to

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surprise him on the march, and under this disadvantage. For this purpose they chose their ground on the Sambre, and agreed that the van of the Roman army should be suffered to pass unmolested, but that the appearance of the first column of baggage should be the signal for a general attack to be made at once from all the different stations in which their parties were posted.

Cæsar, in the mean time, about three days after he had marched from Samarobriva, now supposed to be Amiens, being apprized that he was come within ten miles of the river, on the banks of which the enemy was posted, altered the form of his march, placed six legions, clear of incumbrance, in the van of his army, next to these the whole of his baggage, and in the rear the two legions that were last levied in Italy. When he entered the open grounds on the Sambre, a few parties of horse appeared, but were soon driven into the woods by his cavalry. The legions that came first to their ground began, as usual, to intrench, and received no disturbance till the column of baggage came in sight. At this signal multitudes of the enemy presented themselves on every side, drove in the cavalry that were posted to cover the working parties, and in many places were close in with the main body of the army before the infantry had time to uncover their shields, or to put on their helmets. The Roman soldier, nevertheless, ran to his colors, and, without waiting for the orders of his general, from whose abilities, on this occasion,

he could derive no advantage, endeavoured to join his companions in the order to which they were accustomed. C H A P.
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The event of this tumultuary action was various in different places. The Nervii, in one part of the action, forced the imperfect works of the Roman camp; but in another part of it were themselves forced from their ground, and driven in great numbers into the river. Some of the Roman legions were broken, lost the greater part of their officers, and when Cæsar arrived to rally them, were huddled together in confusion. He was reduced to act the part of a mere legionary soldier, and, with a shield which he took from one of his men, joined in the battle, and in this manner, by his presence and by his example, kept the enemy at bay, until he was relieved by the arrival of two legions of the rear-guard, and of two others, that were sent by Labienus to support him.

This seasonable relief, where the Romans were most distressed, changed the fortune of the day; and the confusion, which in the beginning of the action had been turned to so good account by the Nervii, now became fatal to themselves. The greater part of them fell in heaps on the ground where they first began the attack. The few who attempted to fly were met at every opening of the woods by parties of the enemy, by whom they were forced into the thickets or put to the sword; and as they fell in the end with little resistance, many became a prey to the

B O O K followers of the legions, who put themselves in
III. arms and bore a part in the massacre. Of four hundred chiefs only three escaped ; and of an army of sixty thousand men, no more than five hundred left the field of battle. The piteous remains of this nation , consisting of superannuated men, of women, and of children, sent, from the marshes in which they had been concealed , a message to implore the victor's mercy ; but it does not appear in what manner he disposed of them.

Another enemy yet remained in the field. The Attuatici, descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones, the late terrors of Gaul, of Spain, and of Italy, being settled below the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, had been on their march to join the Nervii, when they heard of this unfortunate action; and then withdrew to their own country. Being pursued by Cæsar, they shut themselves up in their principal fortrefs. Here they made a voluntary submission; and being commanded to lay down their arms, threw such a quantity of weapons from the battlements, as almost filled up the ditch to the height of the ramparts. But Cæsar, having delayed taking possession of the place till the following day, the besieged, whether they only meant to deceive him, or repented of their surrender, took arms again in the night, and in a sally endeavoured to surprise the Roman army. But four thousand of them being killed in this desperate attempt, and the remainder being forced into the town,

were, in consequence of their former breach of faith, to the amount of fifty thousand persons, sold for slaves. CHAP. VI.

Thus Cæsar having, in the second year of his command, penetrated to the Meuse and the Scheld, and being master of the eastern frontier of Gaul as far as the Rhine, and even from beyond that river having received some offers of submission; being master too of several Cantons in Normandy and Brittany, which had submitted to the young Crassus, placed his army for the winter in the midst of these conquests, and himself, as at the end of the former campaign, set out for Italy and the neighbourhood of Rome.

Here the principal point which he left in contest between the parties, relating to the restoration of Cicero, had been for some time determined. Clodius had found a proper antagonist in Milo, and, as often as he himself, or any of his party, appeared in the assemblies of the People, or in the streets, was every where attacked with his own weapons.

Every one agreed, that if the laws could not give protection to the citizens who were most willing to be governed by them, they should not by their formalities screen the disorderly and profligate in the practice of every species of crime.

Clodius had now for some months lain under an impeachment from Milo, and had declared himself a candidate for the office of Ædile, endeavouring by violence, and by the artifices of

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his brother, to put off the trial till after the elections, when, if he should be vested with any public character, he might be able to screen himself under the privilege of his office. His own credit, however, and the fear which citizens entertained of his armed banditti, who were now in a great measure restrained by Milo, had abated so much, that the party of the Senate determined to make another vigorous effort for the restoration of their exiled member.

This business was accordingly again moved in the Senate; and about the beginning of June a decree was passed in the fullest terms for the restoration of Cicero. The Consul was charged with the farther conduct of this measure as of the utmost consequence to the commonwealth. This officer accordingly issued a proclamation, in terms employed only on the greatest occasions, requiring all who had the safety of the republic at heart to support him in the execution of this decree. There was, in consequence of this proclamation, a great concourse of citizens from all parts of Italy. The enemies of the measure shrunk and withdrew their opposition. The act passed in the assembly of the People on the fourth of August. Cicero had been so confident of this event, that he on the same day sailed from Dyrrachium, and on the following arrived at Brundisium. On the eighth day, being still at this place, he had intimation of the act being passed, set out for Rome, and continued his journey through multitudes of people, who were assembled on the

roads to testify their joy upon his return: he entered the city on the fourth of September. C H A P.
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Next day he addressed the Senate in a harangue, which is still extant, composed of lavish panegyric or vehement invective, corresponding to the demerit or merit of parties in his late disgrace and restoration. The multitudes that were assembled on this occasion, their impatience to see him, their acclamations and wonderful unanimity, raised him once more to his former pitch of glory, and appeared to repay all the services he had rendered to the public, and to compensate all the sorrows of his late disgrace. The whole matter was, to persons of reflection, an evidence of that weakness with which this ingenious man suffered himself to be affected by popular opinion, and of the levity with which multitudes run into different extremes.

During these transactions Cæsar was at a great distance, in the northern extremities of Gaul, engaged with fierce and numerous enemies, and involved in difficulties, concerning which there were various reports, and of which the issue, with respect to himself and his army, was supposed to be uncertain. In these circumstances, however willing Pompey may have been to persevere in the measures concerted with Cæsar, it is probable that he found himself unable to resist the force of the Senate, which was now exerted to obtain the restoration of a person who had taken so distinguished a part in their measures.

It is possible likewise, that in these circumstances

BOOK III. Pompey may have taken upon him to act independently of Cæsar, though he afterwards, in trying to gain Cicero to the party of the triumvirate, affected to give Cæsar equal merit with himself in procuring his recal, and he appealed to Quintus, the brother of Marcus Cicero, for the truth of this assertion²². Cicero himself, however, was not disposed to give Cæsar any credit upon this account; and, though both Cæsar and Crassus, after the matter was decided, affected to concur in it, yet he does not seem to have believed them sincere. He imputes to Cæsar an active part in the injury he had received, but none in the reparation that was done to him²³.

Pompey, not the less jealous of Cæsar for their pretended union, and sensible of the advantage he had gained in a military command of so long a duration at the gates of Rome, now wished to propose for himself some appointment of equal importance. The moment of cordiality in the Senate on their recovering a favorite member, and the first emotions of gratitude in the breast of Cicero, whom he had obliged, appeared to form a conjuncture favorable for such a proposition; and he laid, with his usual address and appearance of unconcern, the plan of a motion to be made for this purpose.

The importation of corn into Italy had lately

²² Cicero ad Familiar. lib. i. ep. 9.

²³ Orat. in Senat. post Reditum, c. 15.

miscarried, and a great scarcity and dearth had followed. The populace being riotous upon this complaint, had in the theatre attacked with menaces and violence numbers of the wealthy citizens who were present, and even insulted the Senate itself in the Capital. A report industriously raised by the enemies of Cicero was propagated, to make it be believed that the distress arose from his engrossing for some time the attention of the State; and it was represented, in opposition to this clamor, that the late corn act of Clodius, and the misconduct of one of his relations, intrusted by him with the care of the public granaries, was the cause of this distress. It was insinuated by the adherents of Pompey, that no man was fit to relieve the People besides himself; that the business should be committed to him alone; and Cicero was called upon, as he entered the Senate, to make a motion to this purpose, as bound to procure some relief to the People, in return to their late cordiality in his cause.

Cicero had probably owed his recal to the declarations of Pompey in his favor; and, however little reason he had to rely on his friendship, it was convenient to appear on good terms with him. He suffered himself, therefore, to be carried by the stream that seemed to run in favor of this fashionable leader. As if the necessity of the case had suggested the measure, he moved the Senate that a commission, with proconsular power over all the provinces, should be

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granted to Pompey to superintend the supplies of corn for the city. The Senate, either of themselves disposed to grant this request, or won by the eloquence of their newly recovered member, instructed the Consuls to frame a resolution to this purpose, and carry it to the assembly of the People for their assent.

Here C. Messius, one of the Tribunes, proposed to enlarge the commission, and to comprehend the superintendency of the revenue, with an allotment of fleets and armies suited to the extent of this unprecedented trust. Pompey, observing that this additional clause was ill received, denied his having any share in proposing it, and affected to prefer the appointment intended for him in terms of the act which had been proposed to be drawn up by the Consuls. His partisans, however, still pleaded for the extension of the commission as proposed by Messius, but in vain. The extravagance of the proposal gave a general alarm, not only to the Senate, but even to the party of Cæsar, who wished to employ Pompey against the Senate; but not to arm him with a military force, or to give him in reality that sovereignty of which he so much affected the appearances.

The extraordinary commission, now actually granted to Pompey, although it was exorbitant in respect to the influence it gave him over all the producers, venders, buyers, and consumers of corn throughout the whole empire; yet, as it did not bestow the command of an army, fell

short of the consequences which Cæsar principally dreaded in his rival; and though probably the cause of some jealousy, did not produce any immediate breach between them.

Pompey, being entitled by this commission to appoint fifteen lieutenants, put Cicero at the head of the list; and this place was accepted of by him, on this express condition, that it should not prevent his standing for the office of Censor, in case an election took place on the following year²⁴. He was now in the way of recovering his consideration and his dignity, but was likely to meet with more difficulty in respect to his property, which Clodius had taken care to have forfeited, having even demolished his house, and consecrated the ground to pious uses. This last circumstance had placed a bar in his way, which could not be removed without a formal decree of the pontiffs.

The college met on the last of September to hear parties in this cause. A violent invective having been pronounced by Clodius against his antagonist, Cicero replied in that oration, which is still extant among his works on the subject of his house²⁵. The question was, Whether the ground on which Cicero's house had formerly stood, being formally consecrated, could be again restored to a profane or common use? The Pontiffs appeared to have been unwilling to give any

²⁴ Cicero, Orat. in Senat. post. Redit. c. 13. ad Att.

²⁵ Pro Domo sua.

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explicit decision. They gave a conditional judgment, declaring, that the consecration of Cicero's ground was void, unless it should be found that this act had been properly authorized by the People. Both parties interpreted this judgment in their own favor; and the Senate was to determine, whether, in the act of consecration, the consent of the People had been properly obtained.

The Senate being met on the first of October, and all the parties who were members of it being present, Lucullus, in the name of the Pontiffs, his colleagues, reported. That they had been unanimous in their judgment to revoke the act of consecration, unless it should be found, that the magistrate who had performed that ceremony, had been properly authorized by the People; but that this was a question of law now before the Senate. A debate ensued, in which Lentulus Marcellinus, Consul-elect for the following year, gave his opinion against the legality of the consecration: he was followed by numbers, and the judgment of the Senate was likely to be on that side, Clodius, to put off the question, spoke for three hours, and would have prevented the Senate's coming to any resolution, if the members, becoming impatient, had not silenced him by their interruptions and clamors. A resolution being moved for in the terms that had been proposed by Marcellinus: the Tribune Serranus, who had formerly suspended the decree for the recal of Cicero, now again interposed with his negative. The Senate, nevertheless, proceeded

to engross the decree, in which it was resolved, that the ground on which Cicero's house had formerly stood, should be again restored to him in property ; that no magistrate should presume to contest the authority of the Senate in this matter ; and if any interruption were given in the execution of this decree, that the Tribune, who now interposed with his negative, should be accountable for the consequences. Serranus was alarmed. His relation, Cornicinus, to give him the appearance of greater importance, and an opportunity to recede with dignity, laid himself on the ground at his feet, and besought him, by his entreaties, to say, that he would not insist for the present on the negative he had given ; but he begged the delay of a night to consider of the matter. The Senate, recollecting the use which he formerly made of such a delay on the first of January, was disposed to refuse it, when, upon the interposition of Cicero himself, it was granted ; and he having thought proper to withdraw his negative entirely, the act accordingly passed on the second of October. Cicero was allowed two millions Roman money ²⁶ to rebuild his house in town ; five hundred thousand ²⁷ to rebuild his villa at Tusculum, and two hundred and fifty thousand ²⁸ to rebuild that at Formiæ. The first sum he seems to have considered as

²⁶ About 16,145l. 16s. 8d.

²⁷ About 4,036l. 9s.

²⁸ About 2,018l. 4s. 6d.

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adequate to his loss, but complains of the other two²⁹. He proceeded, without delay, to take possession of his ground, and to employ workmen in rebuilding his house. He had made some progress, when Clodius, on the third of November, came with an armed force, dispersed the workmen, and attacked the house of Quintus Cicero that was adjoining, set it on fire, and kept a guard of his retainers in the streets till it was burnt to the ground.

By this act of violence, Clodius had rendered his cause, in the criminal prosecution which still hung over him, in a great measure desperate. His safety required the actual destruction of his enemies, and he had no scruple to restrain him from the most violent extremes. He accordingly attacked Cicero as he passed in the streets on the eleventh of November, attended by a company of his friends, forced them into a walled court, where they with difficulty defended themselves. Clodius, in this attack, had frequently exposed his own person, and might have been killed; but Cicero was now become too cautious for so bold a measure. "I have put my affairs," he writes to Atticus, "under a gentle regimen; and, in all the cures I am to apply for the future, have renounced the use of the surgeon's knife."

Clodius, upon this occasion, being disappointed of his design upon Cicero's life, came into

²⁹ Ad Atticum, lib. iv. epist. 2.

the streets on the following day, which was the twelfth of November, with a number of slaves provided with lighted torches, and escorted by a party armed in form with shields and swords. They made directly for a house belonging to Milo, with intention to set it on fire; took possession of that of P. Sylla, in its neighbourhood, as a fortress in which to defend themselves, and to keep off all assistance, till the house they were to set on fire should be burnt to the ground.

While they were about to execute this purpose, a number of Milo's servants, led by one Flaccus, sallied forth against the incendiaries, killed several of the most forward, put the rest to flight, and would not have spared Clodius himself, if he had not availed himself of the retreat, which, in entering on this design, he had prepared for his party.

On the following day, Sylla made his appearance in the Senate, in order to exculpate himself; but Clodius still remained shut up in his own house. It appears scarcely credible, that a state could subsist under such extreme disorders; yet the author of them had been long under prosecution for crimes of the same nature; and it was still a question, whether the charge against him should be heard, or whether he should not be allowed to take refuge in one of the offices of State, to which he was sure of being named by the People, provided the elections were allowed to precede his trial.

Marcellinus, the intended Consul of next year,

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moved the Senate to hasten the prosecution, and to join the late disorders committed by the criminal to the former articles of the charge which lay against him. But Metellus Nepos, one of the present Consuls, and the relation of Clodius, having formerly found means to put off the trial, was now determined to prevent it altogether, by hastening the election of *Ædiles*, in which Clodius was Candidate. He endeavoured to prevent any immediate determination of the Senate by prolonging the debate. But the majority of the members were greatly exasperated, and resolved, that the trial of Clodius, for these repeated acts of violence, and outrage, should precede the elections. The Consul Metellus, notwithstanding, was determined to give him a chance to have refuge from this prosecution in the public office to which he aspired, and would have brought on the elections on the nineteenth of November, if he had not been prevented by Milo, who, in the middle of the preceding night, had, with an armed force, occupied the place of assembly, and was prepared to observe the heavens, and to announce some of the celestial presages of unfavorable events, in case other methods to suspend the elections should not have prevailed.

Metellus, and the two brothers, Appius the *Prætor*, and Publius Clodius, being apprized of this intention, and of the power with which it was supported, did not make their appearance in the field, and Milo kept his station till noon, when

when he withdrew with the general applause of the Senate, and of the more orderly citizens. CHAP.
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The meeting, or assembly of the People, being adjourned to next day, Metellus, in order to lull the vigilance of Milo, assured him, that there was no occasion to occupy posts in the dead of the night; that he meant to do nothing before it was day; that if any one meant to suspend the election, he should, in the morning, be found in the market-place, and there submit to the forms which any one was legally entitled to plead against his proceeding. Milo, accordingly, at break of day, repaired to the market-place, where he expected to be joined by the Consul; but soon afterwards was told, that Metellus had deceived him, was hastening to the field of Mars, where the elections were commonly held, and would instantly begin to call the votes, when it would be too late to interpose even under the pretence of religion. Upon this information, he immediately pursued and overtook him before the election began; and, by declaring his intention to observe the heavens, once more frustrated the designs of the faction.

On the twenty-first, the People could not assemble by reason of the public market; and their meeting being called for the twenty-third, Milo again took possession of the field with an armed force; and Cicero, who concludes a letter to Atticus with describing this state of affairs, made no doubt of Milo's success³⁰. What passed

³⁰ Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. epist. 3.

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U. C. 697.

Cn. Corn.

Lentulus

Marcellinus

L. Marc.

Philippus.

on this day is uncertain; but it is known, that Clodius at last prevailed; that, being elected Ædile, he was, by the privilege of his office, screened from the prosecution that was intended against him; and being himself safe, did not fail, upon the expiration of Milo's Tribunate, to retort the charge upon his prosecutor; and accordingly brought him to trial on the second of February, for acts of violence and breach of the peace.

Pompey, as well as Cicero, appeared in the defence of Milo; and they succeeded in having him acquitted, while they incurred a torrent of reproach and invective on the part of the prosecutor. The market-place was crowded with partisans and retainers of Clodius: he had instructed them to reply to his interrogations, and to direct all their abuse on Pompey. "Who starves the People for want of corn? Pompey. Who wants to be sent to Alexandria? Pompey." This farce greatly disturbed the concerted dignity of this politician. His principal object was consideration, and he could not endure contempt. He was on bad terms with the Senate; and they listened to the invective of his personal enemies with apparent satisfaction. He complained to Cicero that the People were alienated from him; that the nobility were his enemies; that the Senate was adverse, and the youth in general ill disposed to him¹¹. He had indeed submitted

¹¹ Cicer. ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. epist. 3.

to become the agent of Cæsar at Rome; and, with the friends of the republic, incurred the odium of their joint measures, while the other was rising every day in military reputation, and was forming an army almost at the gates of Rome, with which he held every party in the republic in awe. Pompey, on this occasion, really did, or affected to believe, that a design was formed against his own life; he assembled a numerous party of his retainers from the country, and absented himself; during some time, from the Senate, and from the assemblies of the people.

C H A P. V I I.

Return of Cato from Cyprus. — His Repulse at the Election of Prætors. — Arrival of Ptolomy Auletes at Rome. — Visit of Pompey and Crassus to Cæsar's Quarters at Lucca. — Renewal of their Association. — Military Operations in Cæsar's Province. — Violent Election of Crassus and Pompey. — Provinces — Of Crassus in Syria, — Of Pompey in Spain, for five Years. — Crassus departs for Syria.

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THE particulars we have related in the last chapter have led us on to the middle of February, in the Consulate of Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcius Philippus. The first was attached to the forms of the republic, and was a strenuous partisan of the Senate. His election was probably a continuation of the victory which this party had obtained in the restoration of Cicero. Philippus was now nearly related to Cæsar, having married his niece, the widow of Octavius; and possibly owed his preferment in part to that connexion. He was, by this alliance, become, the step-father of young Octavius, now a boy of ten years, of

age, brought up by his mother in the house of her second husband. This appears to have been a man of great moderation, no way qualified to be a party in the designs or usurpations of the family with which he was now connected.

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Some time before these Consuls entered on office, in the end of the preceding year, Marcus Cato arrived from having executed his commission to Byzantium and Cyprus. The business upon which he had been sent to the first of these places, was to restore some exiles who had been driven from their country in the violence of faction. At the second he was to seize the treasure and the other effects of Ptolomy, and to reduce his kingdom to the form of a Roman province. This measure, by all accounts, was unjust, and the office highly disagreeable to Cato; but he was determined to perform it with the punctuality and respect due to all the orders of the State. While he himself went to Byzantium, he sent forward Canidius to Cyprus, to intimate the commands of the Roman People, and to exhort the king to submission. Upon his return to Rhodes, in his way to Cyprus, he had intelligence, that this prince, unable to bear the ruin of his fortunes, had, in despair, killed himself. His treasure was seized, and his effects sold: the whole yielded to the treasury about seven thousand talents of silver. Upon the approach of Cato to Rome, the magistrates, the Senate, and multitudes of the People went forth to receive him. The Senate thought proper in this manner

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to distinguish their friends, and to favor them with some marks of consideration, in order to balance, if possible, the public honors that were frequently lavished on their enemies. For the same purpose likewise they resolved to insert the name of Cato among the Prætors of this year; but this honor he himself rejected as unprecedented and illegal. The year following, however, when he stood candidate for this office in the ordinary form, he was rejected; and Vatinius, the well-known tool of Cæsar, who had been employed by him in all measures that were too mean for himself to acknowledge, was chosen ¹.

Cæsar, as has been observed on different occasions, had a serious antipathy to Cato, considered him as a determined and resolute opponent; and accordingly employed all his influence to exclude him from the offices of State, and probably had a particular pleasure in procuring him a repulse, by the preference of so mean an antagonist as Vatinius, who had the present majority of votes against him. But, in mentioning this event, Valerius Maximus is pleased to reverse the form of expression, usual in speaking of disappointed candidates, saying, "That the list
" of Prætors for this year had not the honor of
" Cato's name ²."

Cato, in the execution of his late commission,

¹ Plutarch, in Vit. Catonis, & Cicero in Vatinius.

² Val. Max. lib. vii. c. 5.

had taken exact inventories of all the effects sold at Cyprus; but his books being lost, or burnt in a vessel that took fire on the voyage, Clodius frequently threatened him with a prosecution to account for the sums he had received; and in this he was seriously instigated by Cæsar, who, from his winter-quarters at Lucca, watched all the proceedings at Rome.

From this station, the Proconsul of Gaul, although he could not attend in person, sent his agents to the city, took part in every transaction of moment that related to his adherents or to his enemies. It appeared to be his maxim, that no man should be his friend or his enemy without feeling the suitable effects. Memmius, who had been Prætor with Domitius Ahenobarbus, and who had joined his colleague in the prosecution that was commenced against Cæsar at the expiration of his Consulship, having since been Prætor of Bithynia, and accused of misconduct in his province, was attacked by him in a memorial which he drew up to be employed in support of the charge. Memmius, in defending himself, recriminated, and spared no kind of invective; and in the issue of this matter had the good fortune to escape from the resentment of his enemy.

The power of Cæsar, aided by his influence in so important a station, was daily increasing; and as he spared no pains to crush those whom he despaired of gaining, so he declined no artifice to gain every one else. All the spoils of his

B O O K province were distributed in gratuities at Rome.
III. He knew the state of every man's family, and where he could not reach the master, paid his court to the mistress, or to the favorite slave. While in his winter-quarters at Lucca, many Senators resorted from Rome to pay their court, of these no less than two hundred were said to have been present at one time; and so many of them in public characters, that the Lictors, who paraded at the entrance of his quarters with the badges of office, amounted to one hundred and twenty³.

During this winter, a question relating to the restoration of Ptolomy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, gave rise to warm debates in the Senate. This prince had been dethroned by his subjects; and, conceiving that he had sufficient credit with many persons at Rome, who had experienced his bounty, he repaired thither to solicit his own restoration. In his way he had an interview with Marcus Cato at Cyprus, and was advised by him to return to Egypt, and to accept of any terms from his own People, rather than to enter on such a scene of anxiety and mortification, as he should find every suitor for public favor engaged in at Rome. The giddiness of the multitude, the violence of the parties of which one was sure to oppose what the other embraced, the avarice of those who might pretend to be his friends, and whose

³ Plutarch, in Cæsar.

rapacity the treasures of his kingdom could not assuage, were sufficient to deter the king from proceeding on his voyage. But the importunity of his attendants, who wished to have him restored without any concessions to his subjects, confirmed him in his former resolution. He accordingly proceeded to Rome; and, to the great encouragement of his hopes, was favorably received by Pompey, who was then possessed of the reigning influence in the city, and who considered this as a proper opportunity to have a military commission joined to the civil one of which he was already possessed.

In the mean while the people of Alexandria, not knowing to what place their king had withdrawn, imagined that he was dead, and put his daughter Berenice in possession of the kingdom. Being afterwards informed, that he had steered for Italy, and was likely to engage the Romans against them, they sent a deputation to counteract his solicitations in the Roman Senate. But these deputies being intercepted, and murdered by his order, he proceeded, without opposition, in his application at Rome, and obtained a decree for his restoration to the crown.

The king of Egypt, by having procured an act in his own favor, yet made but a small progress in the business on which he was come. New difficulties arose in the choice of a person to carry the decree of the Senate into execution, which greatly retarded its effect.

Soon after this decree had passed, Lentulus

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Spinther, Consul of the present year, being destined, at the expiration of his magistracy in the city, to command in Cilicia and Cyprus, had inserted the business of restoring the king of Egypt as a part of his own commission. But after Lentulus was gone for his province, this part of the commission, probably by the influence of Pompey, who had views on that expedition, as the object of a military command for himself, was recalled. A strong party of the Nobles, however, being jealous of the state which Pompey affected, and of his continual aim at extraordinary powers, conceived an expedient to disappoint him on this occasion, or to render the commission unworthy of his acceptance. In visiting the books of the Sybils, verses were said to be found, containing an injunction to the Romans, not indeed to withhold their friendship from a king of Egypt soliciting their protection, but “to beware how they attempted to restore him with a military force.” The authenticity of this oracle was acknowledged, or declared by the Augurs; and the Tribune Caius Cato, who was averse to the cause of Ptolomy, availed himself of it, to suspend the effect of the resolution which had been already taken in favor of that prince. The Senate and People were divided in their opinions. One party urged, that Pompey should be appointed to restore the king of Egypt to his throne; others agreed, that he might be appointed, provided that he undertook the commission, as Proconsul,

attended by two Lictors, and, in the terms of the oracle, without any military force*. Pompey himself affected to think, that the business should have been left as it was in the department of Lentulus the Proconsul of Cilicia and Cyprus; but his retainers, so long as they had any hopes of rendering this military commission, or of making it a pretence for placing their patron again at the head of an army, never ceased to urge that he should be employed in it.

Ptolomy himself likewise wished to have this business devolve upon Pompey, as the most likely person to command the force of the commonwealth, and to employ it effectually in his favor. But both despairing at last of success, Ptolomy retired to Ephesus; and, fearing the resentments he had provoked in the contest with his own people, and in the late murder of their deputies, he took refuge in the temple of Diana; a retreat from which he was conducted, about two years afterwards, by Gabinius, and replaced on his throne†.

Pompey was disgusted with his disappointment in not being named to this service, and probably more by the little respect that was paid to him by all parties while he lay under the lash of continual invectives from Clodius, and from Caius Cato. Having obtained, on the fifth of April,

* Dño, lib. xxxix. c. 12—16. Cicero ad Lentulum. Epist. ad Familiares, lib. vii.

† Liv. Epitom. Decad. xi. lib. 5.

BOOK a grant of some money towards executing his
III. office of general purveyor of corn for the People; and having heard his own and Cæsar's embezzlement of the public treasure, especially in the alienation of the revenues of Campania, severely censured in the Senate*, he left Rome on pretence of applying the sums with which he was now intrusted for the purchase of corn in Sardinia and Sicily. In his way he passed by Lucca, and, together with Crassus, augmented the number of attendants who paid their court at the quarters of Cæsar.

At an interview of these three leaders they renewed their former confederacy; and it being known, that Domitius Ahenobarbus was to stand for the next election of Consuls, Cæsar, considering how much a citizen so determined in opposition to himself, instigated by Cato, and supported by the party of the Senate, might attempt or execute against him in his absence, proposed, that the opposition to this candidate should not be committed to any person of inferior consideration in their party; but that Pompey and Crassus should themselves enter the lists, in order to exclude Domitius from the Consulship†.

It was agreed likewise, at this conference, that, upon the expiration of the term for which they were to hold this office, Pompey should have

* Cicero ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. ep. 5 & 6.

† Suet. in Cæsare, c. 24.

the province of Spain, Crassus that of Syria, each with a great army : that Cæsar should be continued in his present command, and have such additions to the establishment of his province as might enable him to support an army of eight Roman legions, with the usual accompaniments of auxiliaries and irregular troops. Such was already the state of his forces^{*}, including a legion of native Gauls; he having, contrary to the express limitations of his commission, by which he was restricted to three legions, made this enormous augmentation. This convention, like the former, was, for some time, kept a secret, and only began to be surmised about the usual time of the elections.

Soon after these matters were settled, Crassus, being to remain in Italy, Pompey proceeded on his voyage to Sardinia, and Cæsar repaired to his army in Gaul, where the war in different places had been renewed in his absence. Among the dispositions he had made for the winter, the young Crassus was left to command on the coasts of the British Channel; and Galba, another of his lieutenants, was posted among the Alps to protect the traders of Italy at a principal pass of these mountains. This officer had dislodged the natives from many of their strong holds, whence they were accustomed to infest the highways, and to lay such as passed into Italy under contributions; and he took hostages for their good

^{*} Suet. in Cæsare, c. 24.

B O O K behaviour for the future. He fixed his quarters,
III. during the winter, at Octodurus, now supposed to be the village of Martinach in the Vallé, situated at the foot of the mountains over which travellers pass in the route of the greater abbey of St. Bernard. Here he remained for some time in quiet possession of his post; but the natives observing, that the legions under his command had been greatly reduced by the services of the preceding campaign, and by the detachments which he had recently made from his quarters, formed a design to surprise and to cut him off. For this purpose, the inhabitants of the village in which he was quartered, suddenly withdrew from him, and soon after appeared with multitudes of their countrymen on the neighbouring mountains. From thence they made a furious attack on the Roman intrenchment, continually sending fresh numbers to relieve those who became fatigued, or who had exhausted their weapons.

The Romans on the first prospect of this attack, had deliberated, whether they should not abandon their post; but had resolved to maintain it, and were now become sensible that they must perish, if they could not, by some impetuous sally, disperse the numbers that were assembled against them. For this purpose, they determined to break from their lines, and to mix with the enemy sword in hand; a manner of fighting, in which, by the superiority of the Roman shield and sword, they always had a great

advantage. They accordingly sallied from their intrenchment, and, with the slaughter of ten thousand of the enemy, who began the attack with thirty thousand, obliged them to retire. Galba, nevertheless, not thinking it prudent to remain in a situation in which he had been exposed to so much danger, retired, for the remainder of the winter, to the neighbourhood of Geneva.

The war had broke out at the same time in the quarters of Crassus, at the other extremity of the province. Some nations, who had made their submission, and given hostages at the end of the preceding campaign, repented of this step, and entered into a concert to recover their liberties. They began with seizing the Roman officers who had been stationed among them as commissaries to provide for the subsistence of the army, and they detained them as pledges for the recovery of their own hostages.

The principal authors of this revolt were the inhabitants of what is now termed the coast of Brittany, between the rivers Vilaine and Blavet. They trusted to the strength of their situation on small islands, or peninsulas, that were joined to the continent only by some narrow beach or isthmus, which the sea, at high water, overflowed. They depended likewise on the strength of their shipping, in the use of which, by the practice of navigation on that stormy sea, and by their frequent voyages even to Britain, they were extremely expert. They supplied the want of canyals

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and hempen cordage with hides and thongs of leather, and the want of cables with iron chains, to which they fastened their anchors.

Cæsar, having received intelligence of this enemy while he remained in his quarters at Luc-ca, sent orders to build as many ships as possible upon the Loire, and to assemble mariners from the neighbouring coasts. Apprehending, at the same time, a general defection of the province, and perhaps a descent from the Germans that were ever ready to profit by the distresses or divisions of their neighbours, he sent Labienus with a large body of horse to the Moselle, at once to awe the Belgic nations, and to guard the passage of the Rhine. He sent also Titurius Sabinus with a proper force into Normandy, where the natives were already in arms; and the young Crassus to the Garonne, to give the natives of Gascony sufficient occupation in their own country, and to prevent their junction with the authors of this revolt.

He himself made haste to join the troops that were stationed in Brittany, and ordered Decimus Brutus to assemble his fleet, and to make sail without loss of time for the bay of Vannes. After his arrival on the coast, he met with all the difficulties which he had reason to expect from the nature of the country, and from the disposition and skill of its inhabitants. The enemy had retired from the continent to their strong holds on the promontories or head-lands, in which they were periodically surrounded by the sea.
Being

Being attacked at one station, they withdrew in their boats to another; and by their situation seemed to be secure from any enemy who was not in a condition to make his attack, at once, both by sea and by land. They eluded a land attack by embarking on board of their vessels; and an attack from the sea, by landing from their boats, which they drew up on the beach.

Cæsar, to decide the event of this singular contest, was obliged to wait the arrival of his shipping. As soon as it appeared, the natives sensible that their fate depended on the event of a sea-fight, embarked the most expert of their warriors, got under sail with all their force, amounting to two hundred and twenty vessels, and steered directly for their enemy. While the fleets drew near to each other, the shores were crowded with spectators; and the army with Cæsar himself came forth on the heights, from which they could behold the scene.

The Romans being inferior to their enemy in the use of their sails, as well as in the strength of their vessels, endeavoured to supply their defect, as usual, by an effort of address and unexpected contrivance. They had provided themselves with scythes, fastened to shafts of a proper length, in order to cut the enemy's rigging, and let loose or discompose their sails; and having thus, in the first encounter, disabled many of their ships, they grappled with them, and boarded them sword in hand.

The Gauls, seeing a great part of their fleet
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thus irrecoverably lost, would have escaped with the remainder; but were suddenly becalmed, and being, from ten in the morning till night, continually exposed to the attack of the Romans, were all either taken or destroyed; and the nation, thus bereft of its principal strength and the flower of its people, surrendered again at discretion.

Under pretence that they had violated the law of nations, in seizing the persons of officers who were stationed among them in a public character, their leaders were put to death, and their people sold for slaves.

The inhabitants of the lower banks of the Seine, at the same time, having been defeated by Titurius, returned, agreeably to what was said to be the character of Gaulish nations, to their former submission, with the same levity with which they had thrown it aside.

The nations inhabiting the banks of the Garonne were still inclined to resist the approaches of Crassus to their country. To the advantage of numbers, they joined a lively courage, of which the Romans themselves had frequently felt the effects. Every chief was attended by a number of followers, whom he called his Soldurii, and who had devoted themselves to his service. While the chieftain lived, the Soldurii fared in every thing alike with himself; but if he perished by violence, they too must die, and there was no instance of their failing in this part of their engagement.

Crassus being arrived on the Garonne, and warned by the example of other Roman officers, who had fallen or miscarried in this service, deferred passing the river till he had augmented his force by the junction of some troops from Toulouse, and other parts of the Roman province. Being thus reinforced, he proceeded against the natives who were divided into many little hordes, of which Cæsar has, on this occasion, enumerated twelve, jealous of each other, and unwilling to join even in their common defence. They accordingly, notwithstanding their valor, fell separately into the hands of the Romans, and in the end were vanquished, or made their submission.

By these conquests, the former acquisitions of Cæsar on the Seine and the Marne, had a direct communication with the districts of Toulouse and Narbonne, or what was already called the Roman province of Gaul. Cæsar himself, having re-established peace in those tracts which are now termed Brittany and Normandy, closed the campaign with a march to the northward, where he penetrated through the marshes and woods into Brabant; but being stopped by heavy rains, and the approach of winter, he returned on his route, without making any settlement; and having put his army into winter-quarters among the nations who had lately revolted, he set out as usual for Italy. There his presence was greatly wanted by Pompey and Crassus, who, on the approach of the elections, were likely to meet with unexpected

B O O K III. difficulties in executing the plan lately concerted between them.

At Rome, the spring and part of the summer had passed in disputes between persons connected with the opposite parties. Clodius had attacked Cicero in his own person, in his effects, and in the persons of his friends. P. Sextius, who, in the character of Tribune, had been so active in the recal of this injured exile, and who had exposed his life in the riots to which that question gave rise, was now accused, and brought to trial for supposed acts of violence committed by him in the course of those contests. He was defended with great zeal by Hortensius, and with a proper gratitude by Cicero; and by their joint endeavours was, on the twelfth of March, acquitted by the unanimous verdict of his judges⁹.

After this trial was over, a piece of superstition, curious as it forms a picture of the age, gave occasion to a fresh dispute between Cicero and his enemy Clodius. Upon a report, that horrid noises and clashing of arms had been heard underground in one of the suburbs, the Senate thought proper to take the subject under consideration, and they referred it for interpretation to the college of Haruspices. This body delivered in judgment, that the gods were offended, among other things, by the neglect and profanation of the holy rites, and by the prostitution of sacred

⁹ Cicero ad Quint. Frat. lib. ii. epist. 4. Orat. pro Sext.

places to profane uses. This response Clodius endeavoured to apply to the case of Cicero's house, once consecrated and set apart for religion, and now again profaned by being restored to its former owner. Cicero endeavoured to remove the charge of profanation from himself to Clodius, by reviving the memory of his famous adventure in Cæsar's house. "If I quote any more recent act of impiety," says he, "this citizen will recal me to the former instance, in which he intended no more than adultery." He proceeded, however, to apply the response of the Augurs to a late intrusion of Clodius in rushing into the theatre with an armed rabble, while the games were celebrating in honor of the great Goddess.

The Senate for two days together listened to the mutual invectives of both parties, and were entertained with their endeavours to surpass each other in declarations of zeal for religion. Cicero, however, by the goodness of his cause, the force of his admirable talents, and perhaps still more by the aid of the Triumvirate, whose favor he earnestly cultivated, prevailed in the contest.

This martyr in the cause of the Senate, ever since his return from banishment, courted the formidable parties, whose power, at least to hurt, he had experienced. He committed, or affected to commit, himself entirely into the hands of Pompey; and, with a declaration of much attachment also to Cæsar, composed a flattering panegyric, which this leader received with great

BOOK pleasure¹⁰, probably more on account of the
III. breach it was likely to make among his opponents in the Senate, than on account of the satisfaction he received from it, or of any real accession of strength it gave him in the pursuit of his designs. By this conduct Cicero disgusted his former friends, and felt his situation in the city so painful, that he absented himself, during great part of the summer, from Rome; a circumstance which interrupted the course, or changed the subject of those letters to which we are indebted for the best record of the times.

We have indeed great reason to regret any interruption of materials from which the history of this Consulate might be collected. The republic seems in part to have recovered its dignity by the able and resolute conduct of Marcellinus, and by the tacit concurrence of his colleague Philippus, who, though connected with Cæsar, did not co-operate in the execution of his designs¹¹. By the influence of these Consuls the applications made to the Senate by Gabinius, now commanding in Syria, for certain customary honors were rejected¹². This refusal was intended to mortify Pompey, who protected Gabinius, and who himself was commonly treated by Marcellinus with great freedom and severity. The aristocratical

¹⁰ Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 5.

¹¹ Cicero ad Quint. frat. lib. ii. ep. 6.

¹² Ibid. ep. 7.

party recovered their courage, and Domitius Ahenobarbus, by their influence, was in a fair way to succeed in his election for Consul of the following year. C H A P.
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The Tribunes, excited chiefly by Caius Cato, espoused the opposite interest, and proposed many resolutions to the People, in order to favor their designs. The Consul Marcellinus endeavoured to interrupt them by the appointment of fasts and holidays, in which it was not lawful to transact affairs in the assembly of the People. The Tribunes, in their turn, suspended the election of Consuls, and in this were encouraged by Pompey and Crassus, who feared the effect of a choice to be made under the direction of Marcellinus, and had not even openly declared their own intentions to offer themselves. Their late interview with Cæsar, and the part they since took, had created suspicion of their views. Marcellinus put the question to Pompey in the Senate, whether he desired the Consulate for himself? And this politician, long unaccustomed to make plain declarations, answered indirectly, That if there were no ill-disposed citizens in the commonwealth, he should have no such desire. Crassus, to the same question, made a like evasive reply, That he should be governed by what he judged best for the State. Both appear to have perceived that they were to rely for success chiefly on popular tumults; and as these would come to be employed with great disadvantage against such an able and resolute magistrate as Marcellinus, they

B O O K took measures to defer the elections until the
 III. term of the present Consuls in office should expire¹.

They found the Tribune Caius Cato a proper instrument for their purpose, secured his negative, and employed it repeatedly to suspend the elections. The republic, upon the approach of the new year, being to lose its former magistrates, without any succession of new ones, was likely to fall into a state of great confusion. The Senate went into mourning, and discharged every member from assisting at any of the public diversions. In this state of suspense and public alarm, Publius Clodius, who had for some time been at variance with Pompey, as if gained by the sympathy of measures on this occasion, was reconciled to him, and attacked Marcellinus with continual invectives.

In this manner the year was suffered to elapse without any election of Consuls. The fasces dropped from the hands of Marcellinus and Philippus, and an interregnum ensued. Pompey and Crassus then openly appeared as candidates for the vacant offices of State. Young Crassus came from the army in Gaul, attended by a numerous body of citizens then serving under Cæsar: they brought a considerable accession of votes to the party of their general, and were themselves not likely to be outstripped by their opponents in acts of sedition and the use of force.

¹ Dio, lib. xxxix. c. 37.

Domitius Ahenobarbus alone, supported by the counsels of his kinsman Marcus Cato, had the courage to persist in a contest with these powerful and dangerous antagonists. The time of election being fixed, he went before break of day to occupy his place in the field of Mars, but found his way already obstructed by a disorderly populace, and even by men in arms. The slave who carried a light before him was killed. Some of his friends, particularly Marcus Cato, was wounded¹⁴; and his adherents not being in condition to dispute the ground with the force that was assembled against them, retired to their own houses, leaving Pompey and Crassus to be named without opposition.

In the same manner the faction of the Triumvirate over-ruled every other election, procured the preference, which has already been mentioned, of Vatinius to Cato, and filled every office with their own creatures. They carried the appointment of Ædiles by actual force, and at the expense of the lives of some of those who opposed them. Pompey himself having been entangled in one of these tumults, retired to change his clothes, which were stained with blood. They were disappointed in the nomination only of two of the Tribunes, Publius Aquilius Gallus, and Ateius Capito, who were of the opposite party.

These events however were, by the contest which arose on every question, deferred for all

¹⁴ Plutarch, in Crass. Pompeio, &c.

U. C. 698.
Cn. Pompeius Magnus, 2do;
M. Licinius Crassus.

BOOK the months of winter and spring. The offices of
III. Prætor were not filled up by the middle of May ¹⁵. The elections had begun for this purpose some time before ; but it being observed that Marcus Cato had the first Centuries , Pompey , under a pretence , allowed by the Roman superstition , that he was to observe the heavens , interposed to suspend the ballot. The faction employed the time which they obtained by this delay in procuring votes , and were so unguarded in giving money , that they laid themselves open to a criminal prosecution , and had reason to apprehend that whatever election they made would be disputed at law. To prevent this consequence , Afranius , a person entirely under the direction of Pompey , moved in the assembly of the People for a dispensation from the statute of bribery in the case of elections then depending for the office of Prætor ; and having obtained this extraordinary indulgence , secured to the party the fruits of their influence and of their money ¹⁶.

Among the acts of Pompey and Crassus , in their second Consulship , are mentioned some regulations respecting the courts of justice by which the juries , though taken in equal numbers from the Senate , the Equestrian order , and the mass of the People , were nevertheless limited to per-

¹⁵ Cicer. ad Quint. Frat. lib. ii. ep. 9.

¹⁶ Ibid.

sons of considerable property. There are likewise mentioned some resolutions then passed to enforce the laws against murder, and to amend those against bribery by additional penalties, together with a sumptuary law to check the extravagance and prodigality of the age. "So willing were these magistrates," said Hortensius, "to compensate by their acts for the defects of their practice, that they made laws even to limit the expence of the table." Such professions to reform the age were probably intended to retrieve the character which the popular leaders had lost by the violence and barefaced corruption of their recent canvasses, and to mark their administration with some measures that might seem to disprove the imputations commonly laid to their charge.

Pompey, at the same time, had an opportunity to signalize his Consulship, by opening, during the present year, the magnificent theatre which he himself, or his freedman Demetrius, had erected for the accommodation of the People at their public shows. At this solemnity were exhibited many dramatic performances and entertainments of every sort. Among these, in the course of five days, no less than five hundred lions were let loose and killed by African hunters; and the whole concluded with the baiting of eighteen elephants, animals that seemed to have sagacity enough to be conscious of the indignity and the wrong which they suffered. By their piteous cries they moved compassion in the

BOOK III. breasts even of that barbarous rabble, for whose entertainment they were slain ¹⁷.

The allotment of provinces, which was the principal object of this Consulate, was for some time kept from the view of the People. Pompey continued to profess that he did not intend to accept of any province whatever. But the public gave no credit to such declarations on his part; and his own partisans were accustomed to press upon him what he affected to decline ¹⁸. Every one, therefore, in all conversations, endeavoured to accommodate him in a province, some with Syria, others with Spain and Africa; to all which suggestions, or officious projects, he affected indifference, or even aversion. Trebonius, however, at this time Tribune of the People, made a motion, which was soon understood to be the real mind of Pompey, and the actual result of his counsels: that the province of Syria should be assigned to Crassus; that of Spain, together with Africa, to himself; each in imitation of Cæsar's appointment in Gaul, to continue for five years, with such establishments of men and of money as the necessity of the service during that period might require. This motion was made in execution of the original plan concerted with Cæsar, and it served to bring to light the object of their late conference at Lucca, which had so much alarmed the friends of the republic.

¹⁷ Dio, lib. xxxix. Cicero ad Familiar. lib. vii. Plin. lib. viii. c. 7.

¹⁸ Cicero ad Att. lib. iv. ep. 9.

On the day that this motion was made in the assembly, Marcus Cato, by means of the Tribunes Atteius Capito and Aquilius Gallus, obtained leave to address the People. He endeavoured to disappoint the purpose of the meeting, by occupying so much of their time as to prevent their coming to any decision. Being commanded silence, and persisting to speak, he was ordered by Trebonius into custody. In this manner, however, the first day was spent, and the assembly adjourned to the next morning.

The Tribunes Atteius and Gallus, suspecting that means might be used to exclude them from the assembly which was then held, took measures to secure their admission. For this purpose Gallus remained all night in the senate-house, which fronted the Comitia or place of assembly. But this device was turned against himself; the opposite party having placed a guard to confine him in that place during the greater part of the following day. His colleague Atteius, with Cato, Favonius, and some others, eluded the parties that were placed to intercept them, and found their way to the place of assembly. When the question was put, Cato, being lifted up into view by those of his friends who were about him, gave an alarm that it thundered; an intimation ever held by the religious customs of the Romans to be ominous, and sufficient to suspend their procedure in any business of State. He was, however, on this occasion forced from the Comitium with the slaughter of some of his friends,

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who resisted the force that was employed against them. About the same time the Tribune Acquilius was wounded in forcing his way from the Senatehouse, and a great concourse of people was forming round him as he stood bleeding in the streets. Violence to the person of a Tribune was still considered with religious horror, and the Consuls, in whose behalf this tumult had been raised, fearing the consequence of suffering such a spectacle to remain in the view of the People, ordered the multitude to withdraw, and removed the Tribune, still bleeding of his wounds, from the public view.

In the sequel of these operations, Pompey and Crassus obtained the provinces in question, and in the terms proposed; they proceeded to fulfil their part of the late engagement to Cæsar, by moving that his command should be continued during an additional term of five years more. "Now, indeed," said Cato (addressing himself to Pompey), "the burden is preparing for your own shoulders. It will one day fall on the republic, but not till after it has crushed you to the ground."

These arrangements being made, the officers thus appointed proceeded to take charge of their trust. Pompey, the newly named Proconsul of Spain, under pretence of a war subsisting with the Vaccei, raised the establishment of his province to four legions, two of which Cæsar soon after under pretence of more urgent service in Gaul, had the address to borrow from him.

Pompey either had not yet begun to perceive what Cato suggested to him, That the greatest difficulty he had to fear, in preserving the eminence to which he aspired, was the emulation of Cæsar; and that the sword must determine the contest between them; or he flattered himself that, like the person who stays at the helm, he was to command the vessel; and by remaining at the seat of government, while his associates and rivals accepted of appointments at a distance, that he continued to preside as sovereign, and supreme dictator of the whole. Under the influence of these conceptions, although his proper station was Spain, he either procured, or at least availed himself of, a motion that was made by some of the Tribunes to detain him in Italy; and fancied, while he sent his own lieutenants, Afranius and Petreius, as private agents for himself into that province, that even Cæsar and Crassus, though in a more public character, were however to act in a subordinate station to himself.

Crassus ever considered riches as the chief constituents of power, and he expected, with the spoils of Asia, to equal the military or political advantages that were likely to be acquired by his rivals in Europe. From the levies and other preparations which he made for his province, it soon appeared that he intended a war with the Parthians, the only antagonists which the Romans had left on the frontier of Syria. Observing that he was likely to meet with an opposition to this

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design from the Senate and from the Tribunes, who exerted their powers to interrupt his preparations, and took measures to detain him at home, he became the more impatient to set out for his province, and left Rome before the expiration of the year for which he was elected into the office of Consul. The Tribune Attius endeavoured to stop him, first by his tribunitian negative, next by actual force, and last of all by solemn imprecations, devoting the Consul himself, and all who should follow him on that service, to destruction.

While Crassus passed through the gates of Rome, on his intended departure for Asia, this Tribune, with a lighted fire, the usual form of devoting a victim to the infernal gods, denounced a curse, which greatly alarmed many of the followers of Crassus. This piece of superstition he might, in his own mind, have justly condemned: but it was imprudent to slight the effects of it on the minds of the People, and on the minds of his own army. In the apprehension of both he was by this form doomed to destruction, and proceeded in the war at the head of troops ill prepared to ward off calamities, which they were thus made to believe hung over them, in consequence of imprecations of which they did not question the efficacy.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.





Ferguson, Adam,

The history of the progress and termination of the Roman republic

Bd.: 3

Basil (1791)

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